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TACITUS

DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS edition of the *Dialogus* was prepared at the request of the Editors-in-chief and others who desired the material collected in my larger work[1] to be made available for the use of college students. The proposal was the more readily accepted, as it gave me the welcome opportunity of availing myself of the reviews called forth by the *editio maior*, as well as of special exegetical or critical contributions that had come to my notice since its appearance. While the present work remains essentially an epitome, those scholars who may condescend to peruse it will, nevertheless, find that it has been very carefully revised throughout, that views, if erroneous, have been abandoned, others stated with greater precision, and not a little that is new has been added. I have, even more persistently than formerly, aimed at making Tacitus his own interpreter, a method preëminently effective in dispelling, by the cumulative evidence of concrete parallelisms of thought and diction, all doubt as to the Tacitean authorship of the treatise. The necessarily brief discussion of this controversy in the Introduction will, I hope, prove adequate to the purpose of this book. The recent contributions to this subject, viz., those made by Steele, Dienel, Hirzel, Leo, and Norden, have

[1] *P. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus*, edited with Prolegomena, Critical and Exegetical Commentary, Indexes, and a Bibliography, pp. cxxxviii + 447, Ginn & Co., Boston, 1894.

been dispassionately examined; but I regret to say that I have unfortunately been unable to accept their main conclusions, and that in the case of the first two mentioned I must take issue even with the premises upon which these are based. If my earlier detailed treatment of the many problems presented by this *Dialogus* has hence called for no material modifications, but has, if anything, been still more strongly confirmed, I have been less partial to the constitution of my former text, and have cheerfully relinquished what was open to valid objections. As a result the present text will be found to be somewhat closer to the MS. tradition, even if that does not represent the actual reading of the author.

There are few treatises of similar compass that demand for their thorough appreciation as works of art and for an adequate understanding of their contents so much comment as the *Dialogus*. In spite of this, I have endeavored to keep within reasonable limits, and above all to make the Notes interesting without the introduction of irrelevant material. How far I may have succeeded in accomplishing this, the students who will have the privilege of reading what is admittedly one of the most precious productions of classical literature, will be best able to judge.

In conclusion, I desire to express my warm thanks to my friends, Professors Charles E. Bennett, of Cornell University, and John C. Rolfe, of the University of Michigan, for many most acceptable suggestions and for the minute care which they have bestowed upon the typographical correctness of this book.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

PHILADELPHIA, June 20, 1898.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP.

1. Brief History of the Controversy.[1]

The first to cast any doubt upon the authenticity of the *Dialogus* was Beatus Rhenanus who, in a short note to his edition of the works of Tacitus, published at Basle in 1519, in a hapless moment, jotted down these words: *Hunc Dialogum vix crediderim esse Taciti.* But his objections were based upon grounds so slender that no attention was paid to his alleged discovery. Finally, in 1574, one of the greatest classical scholars of modern times, Justus Lipsius, in his celebrated edition of Tacitus, came to Rhenanus' support, declaring the spuriousness of the treatise to be *tam certum quam si Apollo respondisset. Inclino ut Quintiliano tribuam.* True to this conviction, he issued the *Dialogus* under Quintilian's name. In subsequent editions he stoutly maintained the same sceptical attitude, but substituted an anonymous author in place of the great rhetorician because of chronological objections.

So great was the authority of Lipsius, and so convincing did his arguments appear, that the non-Tacitean character of the treatise remained practically unchallenged for more than 250 years. But while scholars rested satisfied with this result, the question as to the real author soon became a burning issue. Quintilian still had the most numer-

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[1] See my Prolegomena, pp. xiii–xx.

ous supporters, but toward the close of the eighteenth century the claims of others were brought forward and energetically advocated. Pliny the Younger (how the compliment would have delighted him!) and Suetonius[1] were the candidates most prominently mentioned, particularly the former, for the authorship of the 'aureus libellus.'

This naturally futile search received an unexpected check on the appearance, in 1828, of A. G. Lange's treatise incorporated in Dronke's edition of the *Dialogus*. For there, among numerous arguments in favor of Tacitus, attention was directed to the following passage in Pliny, *Epist.* IX. 10, 2, *itaque poemata quoque crescunt*[2] *quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas*. These words, Lange contended, contained an unmistakable reference to *Dial.* ch. 9, 26 ff., *relinquenda conversatio amicorum . . . atque ut ipsi* (sc. poetae) *dicunt, in nemora et lucos . . . secedendum est*, and as Pliny's letter is addressed to Tacitus, the genuineness of the treatise appeared to be clearly demonstrated. The most noted scholars of the time accepted the result as final, and the sceptics, unable to get rid of so crushing a piece of evidence, were silenced for the time being.[3] Subsequently,

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[1] Even Maternus and Messalla found a few champions.

[2] Keil and subsequent editors read *quiescunt*.

[3] That the Plinian passage, much as it might be welcomed as a Tacitean ally in the controversy, cannot justly be regarded as an allusion to the *Dialogus* is easily shown. 1. The very context of the letter, and particularly the words *Cupio praeceptis tuis parere*, and *Minervae et Dianae quae ais pariter colendas*, prove conclusively that they refer to the identical source which suggested the *nemora et lucos* clause, but the former passage has nothing at all to correspond to it in our treatise and could not have had. 2. The expression itself is a commonplace as old as Hesiod (see note ch. 9, 26), and might, therefore, well have been used in the Tacitean *letter* which called forth Pliny's reply. 3. *Tu putas*, etc., finally, not *tu ais*, be it observed, if taken as a cross-reference to the *Dialogus*, would involve the assumption that Pliny deliberately attributed to Tacitus a statement which the latter expressly disclaims as his own — *ut ipsi* (sc. poetae) *dicunt*.

however, they attempted to prove that the dialogue was written at a much later date than the reign of Titus (79–81), which would leave too short an interval between its composition and that of the *Agricola* and *Germania* plausibly to account for the great stylistic difference between them.

The great majority of these objections, both chronological and stylistic, were, however, fairly successfully refuted by the able contributions of Weinkauff (1858), Steiner (1863), Woelfflin (1868), and Jansen (1878).

At the present day, while opinions still vary as to the precise date of composition or publication, the genuineness of the *Dialogus* is no longer called into question, for the attempts recently made to revive the claims of Quintilian or some great 'Unknown' are not entitled to serious attention.

2. The Questions at Issue.[1]

Before entering upon a brief consideration of the specific objections which, since the time of Lipsius, have been urged against the Tacitean authorship of the *Dialogus*, it will be expedient to examine for a moment the validity of the evidence furnished by the MSS. themselves.

These, eleven in number, unanimously ascribe our treatise to Cornelius Tacitus. Such explicit testimony, by all the canons of methodical reasoning, imperatively demands that every investigation into the problems presented must proceed on the assumption of the genuineness of the treatise,

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Pliny unquestionably read everything that Tacitus had written, and he was, therefore, no doubt acquainted with the *Dialogus* if Tacitus was its author, but the parallelisms between this treatise and the letters which *John* (Progr. Hall, 1897) has again emphasized do not prove this, for they either belong to the conventional vernacular of the rhetorical schools, or else, similar ideas once given, would naturally be expressed in similar phraseology.

[1] Cp. Prolegomena, pp. xx–lx.

and further it will be clear that the full burden of proof falls upon those who deny this.

Under these circumstances, it it is not surprising that attempts, beginning with Lipsius, were constantly made to dispose of so serious an obstacle to the sceptical hypothesis.

It was claimed, in the first place, that the several MSS. do not constitute so many independent witnesses, they being all ultimately derived from a single archetype[1] of unknown date, discovered in some German monastery and brought to Italy about the year 1457/8. It was further contended that the *Dialogus* invariably occupies the last place in our MSS., and hence probably (a mere assumption) in the archetype as well, and that this position might easily have caused an originally anonymous treatise (a clear begging of the question) to be ascribed to the author of the *Germania*, the work immediately preceding. Unfortunately for this gratuitous hypothesis, the *Dialogus* does *not follow* the *Germania* as alleged, except in *two* very late and wholly worthless MSS. of Vienna, one of these containing only Tacitean writings at that. In *six* codices (ADEHPM) the *Dialogus* is *preceded* by the Suetonius fragment, in one (B) it stands in first place, and in the two remaining (CΔ) it is inserted between other works of Tacitus. If, therefore, any such error of ascription did take place, our treatise was far more likely to have been attributed to *Suetonius* than to *Tacitus*, particularly as both dealt exclusively with literary subjects. The archetype, moreover, upon which our MSS. are based, can be traced back at least as far as the *ninth* century. The prima facie evidence of the MSS., in favor of Tacitus, will thus be seen to be of unimpeachable validity, unless we are prepared to admit that scholars may, with impunity, reject an

[1] It contained the *Germania* of Tacitus, considerable portions of Suetonius' *de grammaticis et rhetoribus*, and the *Dialogus*.

otherwise trustworthy tradition, simply because it happens to conflict with a preconceived theory.

Under these circumstances, many critics, incapable of doing away with the weighty evidence of the MSS., calmly ignored it, and bent all their efforts to discover internal grounds for rejecting the Tacitean authorship. These arguments fall under two heads, — the *stylistic* and the *chronological*.

We take up the latter first. From ch. 17, 30, we glean the information that the dramatic date assigned to the *Dialogus* is the sixth year of the reign of Vespasian, i.e. 74/5.[1]

Now Tacitus tells us that he was present at this dis-

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[1] The observation that Aper's computation of an interval of 120 years between the death of Cicero and the sixth year of Vespasian is incorrect (see note, ch. 17, 26) has occasioned considerable difficulty. But the sum of 120 years is neither intended as an exact total (as is sufficiently clear from 'prope quadriennium'), nor as a round number (in which case the elaborate enumeration would have been superfluous), but simply represents a belief quite common among the Romans, that 120 years constituted the ultimate limit of a man's natural life, a belief which the speaker here professes to share for the purpose pointed out in the note ad loc. The indisputable evidence on this point is furnished by the following passages: Cic. *de sen.* 19, 69, *Quid est in hominis vita diu? da enim supremum tempus; fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus qui LXXX regnaverat annos, CXX vixerat;* Plin. *N. H.* VII. 48, 156, *Arganthonium LXXX, regnasse prope certum est. Putant XL coepisse;* Firmicus Maternus, *Math.* II. 23, 7, *sol si bene decreverit CXX annos decernit;* Trebell. Pollio, *Vita Claud.* 2, *Doctissimi mathematicorum CXX annos homini ad vivendum datos iudicant neque amplius cuiquam iactitant esse concessos, etiam illud addentes, Mosen solum dei, ut Iudaeorum libri locuntur* (sc. *Deut.* 34, 7, *Gen.* 6, 3) *familiarem CXX annos vixisse, qui cum quereretur quod iuvenis interiret, responsum ei ab incerto ferunt numine neminem plus esse victurum;* Flav. Vopisc. *Vita Floriani* 15(2)2, *Responsum est ab haruspicibus . . . ipse victurus annis CXX;* Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* IV. 653 (from Varro), *Tribus humana vita continetur; natura, cui ultra CXX solstitiales annos concessum non est*, etc.

cussion as a *iuvenis admodum*, and as he was born about 55 A.D., he was at the time 19–20 years of age, and in the reign of Titus (79–81) a youth of 24–26; but Tacitus, it is argued, cannot have written the *Dialogus* at this period, because so profound a problem as the decline of eloquence would not have suggested itself to so young a man. Nor is it credible that he would have designated himself as having been *iuvenis admodum* only seven years previous.

Again, it was said not to be probable that the *Dialogus* was composed while any of the interlocutors were yet living, or while Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus, so severely criticised by the author, were still in power; but Crispus died in 93 A.D., highly honored by Domitian, and Maternus, as has recently again been asserted, must be identified with the sophist of that name executed under Domitian, in 91 A.D. Nor can the *Dialogus* be assigned to the few remaining years of that emperor, because Tacitus tells us expressly that he wrote nothing throughout the long reign of Domitian (81–96).

But if the period under Titus and Domitian is out of the question, so likewise, it is contended, are the years immediately following, because the publication of the *Dialogus* would then have been contemporaneous with that of the *Agricola* and *Germania* (98 A.D.), and this would involve the psychological improbability that the same writer could simultaneously employ two kinds of style, admittedly so different as that of the *Dialogus* on the one hand and that of the *Agricola* and *Germania* on the other. Our treatise, it is therefore argued, cannot be a genuine work of Tacitus, the testimony of the MSS. notwithstanding.

Objections refuted. — But this apparently cogent argumentation is demonstrably fallacious.

In the first place the word *iuvenis* has an extremely elastic connotation in Latin (it designates any age between 24 and 36), and the same is true of *adulescens, adulescentulus, admo-*

dum adulescens, admodum iuvenis, admodum puer, and the like.[1] But even if the expression under notice were more rigidly employed than it is, Tacitus, on the one hand, had every reason to represent himself sufficiently young to render his presence at the debate as a passive listener dramatically plausible; on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that in men of genius seven years work a great change, and we happen to know that Tacitus, as early as the reign of Titus, had already attained the quaestorship and won an enduring reputation as an orator, and in 77 A.D., at the age of 22, had become betrothed to the daughter of Agricola, who was just on the point of departing for Britain, the scene of his great triumphs soon after. It is entirely reasonable that a man who had acquired such distinction at so early an age was not only intellectually sufficiently mature to grapple with the question discussed in our treatise, but that he might also have felt, looking back over seven eventful years, that he was still a 'very young man' at the time when he was still serving his oratorical apprenticeship under Aper and Secundus. The use of the term *iuvenis admodum* must, therefore, be regarded as quite unobjectionable, and is therefore no obstacle to the assumption of an early date for the *Dialogus*.[2]

That Vibius Crispus was highly influential under Domitian is true, but like all informers he was in all probability in disgrace under Titus.

Regarding the interlocutors there can be no possible doubt that they were no longer living when the *Dialogus* was written, and they may, for aught we know to the contrary, have died before 81 A.D.[3]

That the difference in style between the *Dialogus* and the

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[1] See Prolegomena, p. xxix.

[2] An analogous confusion has been caused by the loose use of 'gioventu' by Dante, which involves the date of the *Vita Nuova*.

[3] See p. xxvi.

Agricola and *Germania* renders their publication within close chronological limits out of the question is again perfectly true,[1] but so far from jeopardizing the authenticity of the treatise, it only confirms the view which assigns it to the reign of Titus, the only date which is wholly free from objections, for the compromise suggested by many in favor of the early years of the reign of Domitian must be rejected on many grounds. It owes its origin to a passage in Suetonius which has been misunderstood,[2] for this writer does not

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[1] This has recently been strenuously denied by two distinguished scholars, Fr. Leo, *Goettinger Gelehrt. Anz.*, March, 1898, pp. 173 ff., and E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, vol. I. pp. 322 ff. (1898). They admit the plausibility of the early date, but insist that the flexibility of structure of Greek and Latin made possible, and the rhetorical exigencies of classical prose demanded, a different stylistic treatment according to the subject-matter, a dialogue, a history, a letter, a speech, a biography, etc., each having its own 'genus dicendi,' to which a careful writer such as Tacitus, with the rhetorical training which he possessed in so consummate degree, would naturally conform. This cannot but be admitted, and it has been emphasized in my Prolegomena, p. lii f. But the three smaller works can nevertheless not have been closely contemporaneous, for reasons which both Leo and Norden have strangely overlooked. 1. While the *Dialogus* would in any case have differed in style from the biography of Agricola and the treatise on the geography and customs of the Germans, it is inconceivable that the consul Tacitus, already engaged upon his *Histories*, should have suddenly been moved to write a treatise saturated with *Ciceronian* phraseology. 2. It is again inconceivable that the hand that penned the preface and epilogue of the *Agricola*, which vibrate with such fiery indignation at the very contemplation of past wrongs, could have simultaneously written the cheerful and optimistic *Dialogue*, unless we are willing to admit that his fulminations are mere stage thunder, insincere and purely rhetorical. I am not yet prepared to ascribe to the austere historian so Janus-like a disposition. It is therefore not the stylistic difference as such that renders Leo's and Norden's contention for a late date impossible, but the Ciceronian diction which characterizes our treatise, and the atmosphere, so to speak, which pervades it.

[2] The compromise is both useless and unwarranted; useless, because it is primarily based upon the erroneous supposition that the phrase '*iuvenis admodum*' is open to serious objections; it is unwarranted

say that the first years of Domitian's rule were so free from despotic acts as not to endanger the author of a treatise so outspoken as the *Dialogus*, but his statement can only be properly interpreted in a *relative* sense, with reference to the time when the emperor, to use Tacitus' words, *non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.*[1]

The chronological objections being thus disposed of, we may now turn to a consideration of the *stylistic* argument which has always proved the mainstay of those who disputed the genuineness of the *Dialogus*.

It may be admitted at the outset, that palpable differences exist between our treatise and the later works of Tacitus, so great, indeed, that no mediæval scholar acquainted with both could have been prompted to label an anonymous dialogue with the historian's name. But since our MSS., as cannot too often be emphasized, unanimously ascribe the work to Tacitus, the only justifiable method would have been to inquire, whether we cannot adequately account for these stylistic differences, instead of rashly jumping to the conclusion that they disprove the Tacitean authorship of the book. We shall see that not only can the discrepancy in question be plausibly explained, but we also discover on closer examination that by the side of striking stylistic differences there exist equally striking stylistic coincidences with the admittedly genuine works of Tacitus, a fact explicable only on the supposition of identity of authorship.

The evidence for these statements is briefly as follows:

Tacitus, as repeatedly remarked, had enjoyed a most thorough rhetorical training and was strongly influenced, if not actually taught, by Quintilian. The latter's aim was to

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because it contradicts Tacitus' own statement of his having written nothing during Domitian's reign.

[1] *Agr.* 44.

lead back his pupils from the emasculated style of Seneca, so popular in his day, to the chaste and classic models of oratorical excellence which he saw exhibited in Cicero. It is, therefore, but natural that the *Dialogus*, if written by the young Tacitus, should on the one hand reflect the teaching of Quintilian and on the other exhibit a profound acquaintance, both in its style and substance, with the works of Cicero. And this we find to be the case, as the many illustrations collected in the Notes will show.

But if the youthful author was thus led to reproduce the splendor and richness of Ciceronian diction, he was, after all, but a child of his day, and hence as incapable as were Quintilian or Pliny, who imitated the same model, of entirely effacing all traces of the usage of his time and the rhetorical vernacular of the schools. This accounts for the numerous examples of post-Augustan usage in the *Dialogus*, so many threads as it were, interwoven into the Ciceronian texture.

To these two strata, which go to make up the composite stylistic character of our treatise, another element must be added which, though less pronounced in youthful authors of talent, is never wholly absent, namely, the individuality of the writer himself. These *three* causes, then, may be said to have made the style of our treatise what it is; and the question now at once arises, *how came Tacitus to abandon this exuberant diction for the nervous energy, the studied succinctness of expression, so characteristic of his later works.*

The principal reason for this change is a *psychological* or personal one, and must be sought in the indelible impress made upon the mind of Tacitus by the appalling horrors of the reign of Domitian. But if it be true, as Goethe says, that the style of an author is an accurate reflection of his soul, then it was as inevitable that the joyous optimism of youth should revel in the 'milky richness' characteristic of the style of the *Dialogus*, as that a concise and austere diction was half unconsciously selected as the most fit

vehicle of expression for the narrative of past servitude and oppression, when, after the death of Domitian, Tacitus determined to devote himself to historical composition.

Another reason for the change in question is found, as already intimated (p. xii), in the demand which called for a *different stylistic* treatment for *various species* of literary composition.

Finally, there is a *third* factor which contributed its share in effecting a stylistic alteration. Close observation has revealed that the *Agricola* and *Germania* share many phraseological features with the *Dialogus* which one looks for in vain in the *Histories* and *Annals*. Again, not a few characteristic usages, as yet rare in the early treatise, occur with constantly increasing frequency in the later writings, while still others, common in the *Dialogus*, show a corresponding decrease, often disappearing entirely in the *Annals*. In other words, the style of Tacitus (and the same is true, e.g. of Plato, Cicero, Dio Chrysostomus, Goethe, and Carlyle) is to an appreciable extent the result of a *genetic development*, passing gradually through various phases of growth or decay.

The stylistic difference between the *Dialogus* and the later works being thus accounted for, it remains to enumerate some of the salient *coincidences* of the many recorded in the Notes.[1] They may be conveniently classified under the following heads:

1. The 'happy audacity,' with which Tacitus enriched the language, is already discernible in the *Dialogus*, it being particularly significant to find certain expressions which, though recurring in the later works of Tacitus, are not elsewhere met with in extant authors; e.g. *histrionalis* (ch. 26, 25; 29, 21; *Ann.* I. 16) and *clientulus* (ch. 37, 32; *Ann.* XII. 36).

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[1] For further details, cp. Prolegomena, pp. xlvi–xlvii, lv–lvii.

2. Expressions invested with a new meaning, but confined to Tacitean prose, e.g. *cura* = *liber* (ch. 3, 2), *cogitatio* = *consilium* (ch. 3, 2), *novus*, 'additional' (ch. 3, 8), *incitamentum*, an extremely rare word, except in Tacitus, and not elsewhere used of persons (ch. 40, 9), *inauditus*, in a legal sense, first found in Tacitus, and, barring two exceptions, always joined with *indefensus* (ch. 16, 23).

3. Peculiar usages common to the *Dialogus* and the historical writings, e.g. *quisque*, with plural predicate (ch. 1, 18), *utrique* = *uterque* (ch. 2, 7), *modo . . . nunc* (ch. 3, 5), *gloria*, 'literary fame' (ch. 5, 2), *ingero*, 'din into the ears' (ch. 7, 16), ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction of relative pronoun (ch. 8, 16), concessive *ut* (ch. 9, 12), *ullus*, as a noun (ch. 12, 14), adjective with epexegetic infinitive (ch. 16, 20) epexegetic *-que* (ch. 22, 3), *ante . . . post*, 'superior . . . inferior to' (ch. 26, 18), *numerare* = *aestimare* (ch. 26, 18), *delegare* = *committere* (ch. 29. 10), *habere* = *continere* (ch. 30, 14), *opus esse*, *sufficere ut* (ch. 31, 5), *pudendus* as an adjective (ch. 32, 28), *dum* with indic. in orat. obliqua (ch. 32, 16), *adversus*, 'as compared with' (ch. 33, 24), *ut* = *ita ut* (ch. 33, 7), *hinc* with ellipsis (ch. 36, 1; 10, 1), *quo modo* in comparative clauses (ch. 36, 28), *rubor* = *pudor* (ch. 37, 31), *proeliator* (ch. 37, 3), *ius* = privilege (ch. 40, 31), *saluber* = *validus* (ch. 41, 10).

4. Words and constructions in the *Dialogus* especially frequent in Tacitus or characteristic of his style, e.g. *tamquam* used subjectively (ch. 2, 17), *in quantum* and like prepositional phrases (ch. 2, 15), subjective dative (ch. 4, 21), indef. relat. pronoun followed by *alius* (ch. 5, 1), adjective = subordinate clause (ch. 5, 17), ellipsis of *sed*, of affirmative with negative expressed (ch. 6, 21. 34, 10), *habere* with gerundive (ch. 8, 1), fut. act. partic. = adject. (ch. 9, 16), ellipsis of verb governing acc. with inf. (ch. 10, 1), *et* before negative (ch. 12, 7), *an* as a disjunctive conjunction (ch. 13, 8), simple ablat. of place where (ch. 13, 22), *satis constat* (ch. 16, 1), *cum maxime* (ch. 16, 10),

mox 'subsequently' (ch. 17, 26), abandonment of oratio obliqua (ch. 17, 4. 30, 19. 32, 17), *ita* = *itaque* (ch. 17, 4), *postquam* with pluperfect (ch. 22, 3), *asyndeton bimembre* (ch. 23, 1), perfect passive = abstract noun (ch. 29, 22), *et ipse* 'likewise' (ch. 30, 1), *an* without *utrum* (ch. 32, 16), ellipsis of demonstrative (ch. 32, 22), plural predicate after two sing. subjects in adversative clauses (ch. 42, 2).

5. Peculiar collocations and figurative expressions common to the *Dialogus* and the historical works, e.g. a general term more closely defined by a specific word or phrase (ch. 1, 15), *circumsteterunt, in herba vel flore, natura denegat, oblectare otium, nomen inserere famae, famam circumdederunt* (ch. 8, 3. 9, 14. 10, 7. 9. 37, 28), synchysis (ch. 12, 7), sing. pred. with two subj. (ch. 5, 18), position of *unus* (ch. 34, 21), verb . . . subj. . . . verb, obj. . . . verb . . . obj. (ch. 37, 5. 34, 20); *oratio bimembris* and *trimembris: a.* The amplified member contains a parenthetical phrase (ch. 2, 14 f. 9, 32 f. 12, 11; *Agr.* 46; *Germ.* 2. 33. 40; *Hist.* I. 51 II. 80; *Ann.* I. 13). *b. A negative* clause, usually *et nullus* (ch. 12, 7. 28, 5; *Agr.* 16; *Germ.* 10. 28; *Hist.* IV. 42; *Ann.* II. 25 III. 37). *c. et tantum* (ch. 6, 21 f.; *Germ.* 4. 29; *Hist.* II. 45) or *et ceteri* (ch. 25, 7. 37, 11; *Agr.* 12. 32, and very frequently in *Hist.* and *Ann.*) or *a relative pronoun* (ch. 10, 14. 15, 5. 18, 20. 19, 31 ff. 21, 17. 25, 14. 35, 16; *Hist.* I. 63. 89 II. 6; *Ann.* I. 32 II. 33 III. 28 XII. 36 *et saep.*) or *an adverb* (ch. 16, 27. 24, 1; *Agr.* 14; *Germ.* 2. 5. 13. 41; *Hist.* II. 38; *Ann.* IV. 34 XIII. 19 XV. 5 *et saep.*). *d. sine* with subst. followed by adj. (ch. 40, 10; *Germ.* 35). *e.* The last member is amplified to give a sonorous finish (ch. 6, 13. 9, 16. 13, 14 f. 30, 10. 31, 27 ff.; *Agr.* 13. 41; *Germ.* 33; *Hist.* I. 18. 41 IV. 44; *Ann.* I. 41 II. 14. 69 XIII. 8 XV. 6).

6. The fondness for alliteration, finally, in which Tacitus surpasses all other Latin prose writers, is already very conspicuous in the *Dialogus.* Cf. note ch. 2, 14.

Having thus shown that the various objections urged

against the Tacitean authorship of the *Dialogus* rest on no firm foundation, it will nevertheless not be superfluous to adduce some *positive and internal evidence confirmatory of its genuineness.* This is amply furnished by the numerous coincidences between the *political, social, and ethical convictions, the criticisms of men and measures, and the literary judgments found in our treatise and the historical works.*[1]

Of the three possible forms of government, the sympathies of Tacitus were undoubtedly on the side of the Republic, but he recognized that the times had changed and that amid the multifarious interests of an empire, peace and tranquillity could be vouchsafed only by a monarchical régime, however much we may deprecate the abuse of absolute power and the demoralizing effects produced by it. For Tacitus is convinced that, even under despotic rulers, good men may live unmolested, provided they do not call down upon themselves the wrath of the emperor by injudicious opposition. Men like Thrasea Paetus, Helvidius Priscus, and Cn. Piso demonstrated, indeed, the sincerity of their convictions and the purity of their motives, and Tacitus honors them for it; but they utterly failed to bring about a realization of the ideals for which they suffered. Under these circumstances, prudence and moderation must determine our mode of conduct and a political martyrdom must not be courted, so long as honor and dignity are not jeopardized. Men like M. Lepidus therefore, L. Piso, Memmius Regulus, and above all Agricola, his illustrious father-in-law, receive his unstinted applause. The lives which these men lived proves, indeed, that there were not a few of Tacitus' contemporaries who shared his opportunistic views. But, so far as these have found literary expression in extant ut-

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[1] Cp. Prolegomena, pp. xxxvi–xliv, where the passages are all collected.

terances, the *Dialogus* is the only work which can be said to echo similar sentiments. Maternus is a loyal supporter of the monarchy, but only for reasons of expediency, as the existing conditions are far from realizing his political ideals. Like Tacitus, again, the author of the *Dialogus* deplores the loss of freedom of speech; and the risks incurred by giving voice to one's convictions are repeatedly alluded to by both. Like Tacitus, once more, Maternus has nothing but supreme contempt for the abject servility of informers and 'amici principis,' and it is not without significance that, where the same individuals are criticised, as is the case with Vatinius, Marcellus, and Crispus, their characterization, albeit intensified and elaborated in the later works, substantially agrees with the judgment passed upon them in the *Dialogus*.

One of the most characteristic features of the historical works of Tacitus is his almost pathetic longing for the irrevocable days of old. Amid the moral degeneracy which he saw about him, he fondly conjures up a primitive golden age of justice and innocence, and in the *Germania* pictures a sturdy race not yet contaminated by the vices of civilized Rome. The terms *priscus*, *antiquus*, *vetus*, are everywhere laudatory epithets. Still he does not give way to despair, but recognizes that his own age is not altogether incapable of noble achievement and that the halo which envelops the past is apt to blind us to the good qualities of which no period is wholly destitute.

These views coincide in all particulars with the sentiments in the *Dialogus*. Messalla deeply deplores the indifference of his contemporaries to the *mores antiqui;* the golden age of pristine purity and virtue is painted in glowing colors by the poet Maternus; *antiquus*, *priscus*, and *vetus* are invested throughout with the same significance as in the later historical works, and the habit of idealizing the past at the expense of the present is also referred to.

The statements, moreover, on *modestia, impudentia, licentia,* on *moderatio, invidia, adulatio,* on the desire for fame, the consulship as the goal of a Roman's ambition, on the laxity of educational methods, the demoralizing effects of the passion for the theatre, horse-racing and gladiatorial contests, the idea of the spread of corruption into the provinces from Rome, the aristocratic contempt for the bread-winning professions and ignoble birth, the pointed contrast between the educated classes and the proletariat, the irksome necessity of remembering the emperor in one's will, legacy hunting —all display the genuine imprint of the historian Tacitus, as evidenced by many parallel passages in his later writings.

In his fondness, finally, for crystallizing ethical reflections or general truths in pointed epigram and carefully balanced antithesis, the author of the *Dialogus* clearly reveals—*ex ungue leonem*—the penetrating observer and the master of epigram, so well known to us from the historical writings of Tacitus.

The *Dialogus* was written by a man possessed of an extensive knowledge of the characteristics of Roman eloquence and its history. That the historian Tacitus was equally qualified for such work is, as we have seen, not only established by the oratorical reputation which he had won, but is abundantly evident from his writings which display a perfect mastery over all the resources of language. But what is still more pertinent to the present inquiry, he never loses an opportunity of characterizing the oratorical efforts of individuals, and where, as happens frequently to be the case, we can still compare the judgment passed upon men who are also mentioned by the author of *Dialogus,* we again find a very pronounced similarity, it being also a feature peculiar to both writers, that their prejudices against the moral conduct of a man do not prevent them from doing full justice to his intellectual abilities.

The same association of ideas, finally, is noticeable in cer-

tain miscellaneous utterances, particularly those relating to the materialistic character of forensic oratory as compared with that of the past, the influence once wielded by great orators, the pursuit of philosophy and the like. And above all, it is highly significant that the entire *Dialogus* contains not a single thought that can be said to be contradicted by, or to be at variance with, the more mature convictions in the historical works.

The *Dialogus de oratoribus* may, therefore, be confidently claimed for the great historian on the following grounds:

1. The testimony of the MSS., which unanimously ascribe the work to Tacitus, is unimpeachable.

2. The *Dialogus* was composed in the reign of Titus (79–81), this date being wholly free from all chronological or internal objections, every later period involving insuperable difficulties.

3. The treatise, while written in a style very different from that of the historical works, at the same time exhibits equally striking coincidences.

4. This difference can be plausibly accounted for, it being the inevitable result of certain well-ascertainable causes which severally combined to shape, as well as to modify or even to destroy, many stylistic features, characteristic of this earliest production of the future historian.

5. Finally, the *Dialogus*, in spite of the long interval of time which elapsed between its composition and the later works, reveals an attitude of mind and heart, in the judgments passed on men and measures, so remarkably similar as to leave no reasonable doubt that it was written by the author to whom the MSS. assign it.

II.

THE DRAMATIC STRUCTURE OF THE DIALOGUE.

The scenery of the debate is laid in the house of the poet Maternus. One afternoon[1] of the year 74/5 A.D., presumably in the winter (for the conversation takes place in-doors), Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, accompanied by their devoted disciple, the youthful Tacitus, call upon their common friend and find him reading the very tragedy the recitation of which, the day previous, had, according to a general rumor, given offence to the 'powers that be,' because of certain liberal sentiments put into the mouth of Cato Uticensis, the hero of the play. Secundus gently deprecates the outspokenness of the poet, while Aper endeavors to persuade him to abandon so precarious and useless a pursuit as poetry, and one so detrimental to the proper discharge of his many forensic duties. Maternus, however, will not listen to their advice, but expresses his emphatic determination to withdraw entirely from the forum and the law-courts and to devote himself henceforth exclusively to the cultivation of the Muses.

This announcement leads to a discussion between Aper and Maternus, touching the intrinsic value and respective superiority of oratory and poetry. As this was a question often debated between these two friends, Secundus, the third in the party,[2] naturally does not participate in the debate, his silence being dramatically justified by his being asked to serve as umpire between the contesting parties. The issue raised did not admit of an impartial and just solution, a possible decision being skilfully averted by the

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[1] The time of day may be inferred ch. 42 ext., for the entire dialogue is of comparatively short duration.

[2] The young Tacitus is, dramatically considered, non-existent.

opportune introduction of another visitor in the person of Vipstanus Messalla, a device often resorted to in the dialogical literature of the ancients for the purpose of giving a new turn to the conversation, for a dialogue was considered in the light of a *μίμησις τοῦ βίου*. And, as often happens in real life, an apparently casual remark of the newcomer is eagerly taken up by one of the interlocutors, and thus naturally leads the way to the discussion which the author intended to form the main theme of his work.[1]

The conflict is carefully prepared by a distribution of the parts among the several speakers. *Aper*, who, like Hortensius in Cicero's dialogue of that name, stands up single-handed against a united opposition, is made to open the debate by a sophistical argument regarding the meaning of the term *antiqui* and then passes on to a scathing indictment of the great orators of the Roman Republic. He closes with a graceful compliment to his hearers, whom he pictures as the ideal representatives of the much-maligned eloquence of his time.

Messalla thereupon takes up the cudgels for his beloved 'ancients,' but being recalled by Maternus to the point at issue, namely the causes for the decline of eloquence, maintains that it has been brought about by the lax and pernicious methods in the training of the young.

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[1] For these reasons the preceding debate need not have been intimately associated with the one following, similarly loose transitions being met with frequently elsewhere. Cp. e.g. the introduction to Plato's *Republic*, Cicero's *de republica*, *de oratore*, I., *de legibus*, I., *de finibus*, V. So far I agree with *Leo*, l.c. p. 169 ff. Inasmuch, however, as a dialogue is not merely an imitation of real life, but also a work of literary art, the introductory topics must not be wholly irrelevant to the succeeding, as is often the case in every-day conversations, for the author has it in his power to invent his situations and his themes. That such a well-recognizable bond of union exists between the subject of chs. 3–13 and the remainder of the *Dialogue* I have endeavored to show in my Prolegomena, pp. lxvi–lxviii.

The close of his argument is lost in the extensive lacuna which occurs at ch. 36, 18. In what immediately follows, we find ourselves in the middle of the speech of *Secundus* who, in accordance with the agreement made in ch. 16, 16 ff., supplements the reasons given for the decadence in question, by pointing out that it is in a large measure due to a lack of opportunity for the display of eloquence, the unsettled political conditions existing in democratic Athens[1] and republican Rome affording a more favorable soil for its growth than the regulated order of things under the Empire.[2]

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[1] That the speaker in the lost chapters spoke of Greek oratory and political conditions is made evident by ch. 36, 22 *eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate*, etc.

[2] That neither Messalla nor Maternus can be the speaker of ch. 35, 19–40, 5, will be clear from the following considerations:

a. *Singuli* and *quisque* in ch. 1 *must* include all the *dramatis personae* as actual participants in the discussion, but, by attributing the above chapters to any one else save Secundus he would remain a *muta persona* throughout, and yet a speech by Secundus is expressly promised in ch. 16, 16 ff. The dramatic artist who penned the *Dialogus* would not have repeatedly aroused expectations which he never had any intention of fulfilling, and such a deliberate deception is without parallel in the Greek and Latin dialogues which have been preserved. Tacitus, who places both Aper and Secundus on the same high level, had, on the contrary, every motive to furnish a specimen of the oratorical capabilities of Secundus, in order to refute the disparaging criticism made by the men designated as *maligni* (ch. 2, 11).

b. Messalla cannot be the speaker for several reasons. In the first place, the specific topics which he was expected to discuss are outlined in ch. 33, and it is with some reluctance and impatience that he is prevailed upon to treat of them all. It is, therefore, inconceivable that he should subsequently have consented to discuss a problem, not only not contained in the original request, but the very one which he had expressly declared himself incapable of solving (ch. 15, 2 ff.). Furthermore, to assign the ch. 35, 19 ff. to Messalla would allow him to monopolize the discussion to so disproportionate a degree as to be incompatible with the admittedly artistic structure of this treatise.

c. Maternus cannot be the speaker, because the contents, as shown in the Notes, conflict with many utterances put into his mouth in

Maternus in summing up the debate brings about a reconciliation by observing that the difference between the eloquence of the ancients and the moderns, while undoubtedly historically conditioned as Secundus had maintained, is happily not due to any intellectual inferiority of contemporary speakers. For this reason we should take things as we find them, and make the most of our opportunities, without belittling the present, or unduly magnifying the past.

III.

THE INTERLOCUTORS.

Of the four interlocutors themselves we possess but little biographical information beyond what Tacitus has thought it sufficient to furnish.

Maternus. — The host, Curiatius Maternus, like Aper and Secundus, probably of Gallic origin,[1] is introduced to us in

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ch. 11–13 and 40, 5–41 ext., or else are clearly in the nature of a direct reply to what had immediately preceded. The assumption of a lacuna, after ch. 40, 6, thus made necessary, involves no difficulty. See my Prolegomena, p. lxxviii f.

d. The chapters in question are admirably in keeping with the character of Secundus as drawn by Tacitus and Quintilian. See Notes *ad loc.* and below.

e. The facts stated in (*c*) and (*d*) and the *nostra quoque* dispose of the suggestion that the entire speech of Secundus may have been lost in the lacuna.

f. The omission of any mention of Secundus at the close, often referred to as militating against the view here advocated, is simply due to the fact that the only real opponents whom Aper has to contend with are Maternus in the first part, and Messalla in the second, for neither Secundus nor Maternus attacked the eloquence of their time, but they endeavored to explain the causes that made the glorious eloquence of the past what it was, and to account for the great change that had come over it. Their discussion alone lacks the polemical spirit, and it will be noticed that not only does Aper ignore Secundus, but *Maternus* as well, so far as the second debate is concerned.

[1] Cp. ch. 10, 2 *ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar*. Aper is addressing

the double capacity of a renowned advocate and tragic poet of considerable repute. He was no longer young when the *Dialogus* is alleged to have taken place, for he had won a notable triumph with a tragedy in the reign of Nero (54–68). There is no reason to believe that Maternus was still living, when Tacitus wrote his treatise in the reign of Titus.[1] The same must be assumed for Messalla and can be demonstrated in the case of Aper and Secundus. The very manner, moreover, in which these men are portrayed, the utterances put into their mouths, and above all the universal disinclination of the classical writers of dialogue to introduce living persons as interlocutors, except where the authors themselves participate in the discussion, can leave no doubt on this point.

M. Aper. — M. Aper, like Maternus, is known to us only

Maternus and Secundus. If *nostris* were here = *meis*, he would probably have said *loquimur* as well. The name *Maternus* is exceedingly common. Apart from the Spanish jurist eulogized by Martial (X. 37), the author Firmicus Maternus and a noted bishop of Agrippinensis, both of the fourth century, we meet with it more than a *hundred* times in inscriptions. Of these, fifty-three belong to Spain, twenty-seven to Gaul. Even *Curiatius Maternus* is met with twice (C. I. L. II. 3783. III. 429).

[1] The old and long since abandoned view, now once more revived by *Norden*, l.c., that Maternus is identical with a sophist of that name, executed by Domitian in 91 A.D., for "declaiming against tyrants" (Dio Cass. 67, 12), which would necessitate a post-Domitian date with all that this involves, is highly improbable on many grounds: *a.* The name is, as we have seen, extremely common, which, without positive collateral evidence, renders any identification very hazardous. *b.* It is quite inconceivable that the sincerely loyal, albeit outspoken poet who was so firmly resolved to abandon the pursuit of oratory, should seventeen years later, in his old age, have degenerated into a mere school rhetorician of so violent a type as to call down upon him the wrath of the emperor. *c.* It is inconceivable that Tacitus, with the memory of his cruelly murdered friend still fresh, could have pictured him as he did, e.g. ch. 11 ext. 13, and 41 ext. 2. *d.* So late a date of the *Dialogus* as Norden is compelled to assume in consequence is impossible on independent grounds. See p. x.

from the *Dialogus*. Born in some Gallic municipality not particularly favored (ch. 7, 2) by the imperial government, he seems to have emigrated at an early age to Rome, where by his talents and thorough training as an orator he succeeded in overcoming the obstacles usually thrown into the way of a *novus homo* from a distant province. At the time of the debate, he had reached the praetorship and a leading position at the Roman bar. At some time in his life he visited Britain, probably before he came to Rome.[1] His name does not appear in our lists of Roman consuls, and Quintilian does not mention him. He seems, therefore, not to have long survived the year 75, and was certainly dead when the *Dialogus* was written. (See note ch. 2, 6.)

Aper exhibits all the complacency and pride of the successful, self-made man, and is naturally an enthusiastic supporter of the imperial régime under which he was enabled to rise from obscurity to fame. His views are thoroughly utilitarian; wealth and power command his respectful admiration, quite apart from the moral worth of their possessor. 'Corriger la fortune' is his motto. A man of a pugnacious disposition, an adroit advocate, he does not shrink from sophistry, exaggeration, or downright misrepresentation, if it suits his purpose.

His oratorical ideal is that of the modern school as represented by Cassius Severus and Seneca, and he possesses

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[1] We may arrive at an approximate date of his birth from a statement in ch. 17, 2. The Briton who was old enough to be in the army that repelled Caesar, in 55 B.C., could not well have still been living at the close of the reign of Claudius (41–54), for in that case he would have been considerably more than 120 years old. Aper, therefore, as the context shows, must have met him in the earlier years of Claudius, in the reign of Caligula (37–41), or even in that of Tiberius (14–37). Now, as Aper himself was in all probability no longer a young boy when he visited Britain, he must have been born in the reign of Tiberius. He was, therefore, in any case, the oldest among the interlocutors.

all the well-known characteristics of the Asianic[1] rhetoricians of the early Empire.

His style is typified by redundancy of expression, a fondness for metaphor, often singular and bold, and an occasionally peculiar vocabulary, all of which features are far less noticeable in the speeches of the other interlocutors. How far his diction reflects that of the historical individual cannot, of course, be determined. The observation, however, that Aper has been invested with some touches, unquestionably copied from Cicero's portrayal of Antonius in the *de oratore*, lends color to the conviction that his style as well is very largely, if not wholly, the artistic production of the author.

Julius Secundus. — Julius Secundus is far better known to us, for Quintilian, his intimate friend, speaks of him in three passages.[2] From these we glean the information that an early death prevented him from reaching a still more commanding position as an orator than he had attained. His style is said to have been lucid and elegant and noted for a choice and at times poetic vocabulary. In both the form and the substance of his speeches he was painstaking to a fault, which in turn resulted in a lack of aggressiveness and energy, a characterization quite in agreement with the picture of Secundus which Tacitus has drawn.[3] He seems to have held no curule office, but was the private secretary of the emperor Otho, if, as is very likely, he is identical with the orator Secundus mentioned by Plutarch.[4] His scholarly bent of mind — he is mentioned as the author of a much-admired biography of Julius Africanus (see note

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[1] See Hirzel, *Der Dialog* II. p. 54, note 2, and E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* II. p. 265 ff.

[2] x, 1, 120; 3, 12; xii, 10, 11.

[3] Cp. e.g. ch. 2, 4 ff.; 39, 9.

[4] Otho, c. 9, Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ (i.e. the well-known orator) ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὄθωνος.

ch. 15, 16) — and his retiring disposition probably kept him aloof from politics, and nature seems, indeed, to have marked him out rather for a scholar and historian than for the active vocation of an advocate.

Vipstanus Messalla. — The fourth interlocutor and the last to appear upon the scene is Vipstanus Messalla. He was the only native Roman in the company and in all likelihood a direct descendant[1] of the celebrated M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, under Augustus. He was born about 46/7 A.D.[2] In the war between Vitellius and Vespasian (69 A.D.) he took a conspicuous part, and his subsequent memoirs of the struggle were used by Tacitus as a trustworthy source for the narrative of this period.[3] The unusually high compliments which Tacitus in the *Histories* pays to his character and his oratorical accomplishments coincide perfectly with what is said of him and what he is made to say in the *Dialogus*.[4]

Full of enthusiasm for the consummate achievements of the Republican orators, he represents, in pointed contrast to Aper, the uncompromising '*laudator temporis acti*,' who is incapable of seeing in the eloquence of his own day anything more than a deplorable departure from the glorious models of the past, the pernicious educational methods of contemporary rhetorical schools totally unfitting the young aspirant to forensic reputation for the practical duties of his profession.

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[1] This would account for the nature of Aper's criticisms (ch. 18, 28; 21, 22) and Messalla's significant omission of Corvinus' name in ch. 26.

[2] For in 70 A.D. he had not yet reached the senatorial age which had been fixed by Augustus at 25.

[3] *Hist.* III. 25. 28.

[4] *Hist.* III. 9 *clarus maioribus, egregius ipse et qui solus ad id bellum artis bonas adtulisset.* IV. 42 *magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstanus Messalla adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari.*

IV.

THE LITERARY SOURCES OF THE DIALOGUS.

The Dialogue not historical. — The *Dialogus de oratoribus* purports to be, as we have seen, the faithful reproduction from memory of a debate to which the young Tacitus had been privileged to listen, and which about seven years later, when its noted participants were all dead, seemed to him not unworthy of the attention of posterity.

But while the desire to perpetuate the memory of so interesting a discussion was doubtless the primary motive[1] of the author, the debate itself cannot, as alleged, have been historical.

It is simply a treatise which Tacitus cast into the dramatic form of a dialogue, for the same reasons that prompted Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Plutarch, or Minucius Felix to choose this particular species of literary composition, since it alone enabled them thoroughly to discuss a subject from all points of view, without *ex cathedra* utterances or tiresome dogmatic expositions.

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[1] As in the case of the *Agricola* and *Germania*, so also in the *Dialogus*, frequent attempts have been made to discover some ulterior purpose of the treatise, the view that it was to serve as a kind of official pronunciamento or *programme*, in which Tacitus bade farewell, in the person of Maternus, to a forensic career in favor of historic research, having strangely found numerous advocates down to the present day (e.g. Dienel and Leo). But this hypothesis must be rejected. In the first place, it is unwarranted to project wholly modern conceptions into the past — as if Tacitus had been some leader of a great political party. Secondly, the announcement would in any case have been misinterpreted, for Maternus is pictured as a *poet*, not as a *historian*. Thirdly, the theory rests upon the erroneous assumption of the post-Domitian date of the treatise. In the reign of Titus, Tacitus had not yet contemplated historical composition, but was until 98 A.D. known as a great orator and advocate frequently heard and admired, as the letters of Pliny abundantly testify.

Now in all dialogues the author invariably exercises the inalienable right of the creative artist to invent his characters and to place them in such situations as may be most conducive to the object which he had in view. But being an *artist*, he will not fail to impart an air of verisimilitude to his creation by giving a kind of pictorial reality to the scenery, and by investing his *dramatis personae* with the requisite historical coloring. Such was the method of Cicero, as outlined in his letters,[1] and of the ancients generally. That it is equally true of our treatise will be evident from the following observations[2] which are incompatible with the supposition of an extemporaneous conversation between friends.

1. The artistic structure of the dialogue with its set speeches, and carefully balanced arguments *pro* and *con*, the announcements and recapitulations of topics, the elaborate perorations and the numerous statements implying a reading public. See ch. 5, 9 ff. 28; 8, 32; 14, 14. 16, 13 ff. 23 ext. 27, 30. 2 f. 28, 10 ff. 32, 15. 33, 27. 34, 15 f.

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[1] Cp. *Epist. ad fam.* I. 9, 23, IX. 8; *ad Att.* IV. 16, 2, XIII. 19, 3; *ad Quint. fratr.* III. 5, and the introductions to the *de oratore* and the *Laelius*.

[2] The very statement at the beginning: *Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi*, is nothing more than a commonplace fiction of writers of dialogue. It is the ancient way of dedicating a book to a friend, and at the same time is made to serve as the alleged motive for writing upon the topic referred to. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Timaeus* 1; *de nat. deor.* I. 6, 15; *de div.* I. 5, 8; *de fato* 2; *Orat.* 1, 1. Tertull. *de fuga* 1, QUAESISTI *proxime, Fabi frater, fugiendum necne sit in persecutione*, and especially Plin. *Epist.* VI. 15, concerning the recitation of a poem by Passenus Paullus: *Coepit dicere 'Prisce iubes.' Ad hoc Iavolenus Priscus (aderat enim, ut Paullo amicissimus) 'ego vero non iubeo.'* The same device is constantly employed by Seneca, for his letters are merely a convenient form for unfolding his system of ethics, some alleged question of Lucilius, to whom they are addressed, furnishing the incentive for the discussion. Cp. e.g. *Epist.* 7, 1, *quid tibi vitandum praecipue existimem*, QUAERIS, and the similar introductions, usually with *quaeris*, in *Epist.* 22. 33. 43. 72. 88. 95. 109. 111. 114.

2. The language put into the mouths of the several speakers, though not unskilfully differentiated, and many dramatic devices, are unmistakably Ciceronian.

Sources. — But if the *Dialogus*, barring a certain historical background and doubtless an adequately faithful portraiture of the interlocutors themselves, must as a whole be regarded as a work of the creative imagination, then the question as to the sources[1] which Tacitus consulted and utilized, at once assumes an intrinsic and independent importance.

That *Cicero's* writings, particularly the rhetorical works, constituted the chief source, will be apparent from the foregoing remarks, and is abundantly illustrated in the Notes.

A minor source of information is found in the compilations of *Mucianus*, entitled *Acta* and *Epistulae*, expressly cited in ch. 37, 6. To them Tacitus owes many details concerning the orators of the Republic not given in Cicero's *Brutus*, as e.g. the fact that they delivered no speeches before the centumviral courts (see note ch. 38, 23), the respective ages of Crassus, Caesar, Pollio, and Calvus at the time they made their oratorical *début*, and the names of the defendants on these occasions. The chronological errors involved (see notes ch. 24, 21 ff.) in themselves suggest a later, post-Augustan origin, and that the *Acta* of Mucianus were any more trustworthy guides than some of his treatises consulted by the elder Pliny, we have no reason to believe. The *Epistulae* probably furnished the material for the statements made concerning the warfare between Cicero and his oratorical rivals. The original correspondence between them was no longer easily accessible in the reign of Vespasian (ch. 37, 4 f.), and a number of striking parallelisms in Quintilian and Plutarch seem to justify the inference that they too took their information on the subject at second-hand from the same convenient collection. Cp. notes ch. 18, 6 ff.

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[1] *Cp.* Prolegomena, pp. lxxxvii–ciii.

Chrysippus. — Finally, it can be shown that the remarks on the education of children (ch. 28 f.) are not wholly original with the youthful author, but have been largely influenced, directly or indirectly, by an exhaustive and popular treatise on this subject by the celebrated Stoic Chrysippus, which bore the title *περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*. Quintilian, who quotes from this work repeatedly, Pseudo-Plutarch's *περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*, and the *Dialogus* coincide so frequently, even in the phraseology, as pointed out in the Notes, that the conclusion of their common indebtedness to the Stoic's treatise — for they are independent of one another — becomes irresistible.[1]

But, however extensive the obligations of the author to previous writers, notably Cicero, may have been, we cannot but concede that Tacitus, even in this treatise of his youth, was no slavish imitator, but that he assimilated his borrowed material in so thorough a manner, as to make it virtually his own, thus succeeding in producing a brilliant work, dramatic in construction, artistically elaborated in style and substance, and, in consequence, bearing all the outward indications of an original composition.

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[1] For the detailed proof, see my Prolegomena, pp. xcviii–cii, and now also A. Dyroff, *Die Ethik der alten Stoa*, Berlin, 1897.

P. CORNELII TACITI
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

Introduction.

1. Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat. Neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos: horum autem temporum diserti, causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. Cui percontationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis pondus excipere, ut aut de ingeniis nostris male existimandum sit, si idem adsequi non possumus, aut de iudiciis, si nolumus, vix hercule auderem, si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum ut nostris temporibus hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes iuvenis admodum audivi. Ita non ingenio, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut, quae e praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter excepi, cum singuli diversas [vel easdem] sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc [numeris isdemque rationibus persequar, servato ordine disputationis. Neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet ac multum vexata et inrisa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret.

2. Nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum M. Aper et Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos ego utrosque non modo in iudiciis studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus exciperem; quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. Nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat, tamquam maiorem industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus, si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3. Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus 'Nihilne te' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent, quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? an ideo librum istum adprehendisti, ut diligentius retractares et, sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?'

Tum ille 'Leges' inquit 'quid Maternus sibi debuerit, et adgnosces quae audisti. Quod si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi, atque ideo

maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissā priore curā novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam.'

'Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant' inquit Aper, 'quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas? cum te tot amicorum causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent, quibus vix suffeceris, etiam si non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses, ut Domitium et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina Graeculorum fabulis adgregares.'

4. Et Maternus 'Perturbarer hac tua severitate, nisi frequens et adsidua nobis contentio iam prope in consuetudinem vertisset. Nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum obicis, cotidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adversus te poeticae exerceo. Quo laetor magis oblatum nobis iudicem, qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate compellat, ut omissis forensium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam.'

5. 'Ego vero' inquit Secundus, 'antequam me iudicem Aper recuset, faciam, quod probi et modesti iudices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus se excusent, in quibus manifestum est alteram apud eos partem gratiā praevalere. Quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et adsiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam? Porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem.'

Aper's Speech: 'Defence of Oratory.'

'Securus sit' inquit Aper 'et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. Ego enim, quatenus arbitrum litis huius non inveni, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum apud nos arguam, quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit studium, quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius vel ad voluptatem dulcius vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam inlustrius excogitari potest. Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra derigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem, qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? cuius vis et utilitas rebus prospere fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegitur; sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo propugnare pariter et incessere sive in iudicio vel in senatu sive apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit? qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem sed inexercitatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit. Plura de utilitate non dico, cui parti minime contra dicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

6. 'Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cuius iucunditas non uno aliquo momento, sed omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato, quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum? idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicuius administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari? ipsos quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes venire plerumque ad iuvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent. Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratiā subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes id quod optimum sit se non habere? Iam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus, quae in publico species, quae in iudiciis veneratio, quod [illud] gaudium consurgendi adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos, coire populum et circumfundi coram et accipere adfectum quemcumque orator induerit! Vulgata dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo; illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota maiora sunt: sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi adtulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati; sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est. Nam in ingenio quoque sicut in agro, quamquam quae [alia] seruntur atque elaborantur grata, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.

7. 'Equidem, ut de me ipse fatear, non eum diem laeti-

orem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est, vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi, quam eos quibus mihi pro mediocritate huius quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis aut apud patres reum prospere defendere aut apud centumviros causam aliquam feliciter orare aut apud principem ipsum illos libertos et procuratores principum tueri et defendere datur. Tum mihi supra tribunatus et praeturas et consulatus ascendere videor, tum habere, quod, si non in animo oritur, nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit. Quid? fama et laus cuius artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est? quid? non inlustres sunt in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes, quibus modo recta est indoles et bona spes sui? quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat? advenae quoque et peregrini iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere concupiscunt.

8. 'Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim novis et recentibus quam remotis et oblitteratis exemplis utor) non minores esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. Nec hoc illis alterius bis, alterius ter milies sestertium praestat, quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse, sed ipsa eloquentia, cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint, sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae

non auditu cognoscenda, sed oculis spectanda haberemus. Nam quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt, quoque notabilior paupertas et angustiae rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoriae eloquentiae utilitatem inlustriora exempla sunt, quod sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur, quia Vespasianus, venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intellegit [et] ceteros quidem amicos suos eis niti quae ab ipso acceperint quaeque et ipsis accumulare et in alios congerere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum adtulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit. Minimum inter tot ac tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et statuae, quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, tam hercule quam divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat. His igitur et honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus refertas domos eorum videmus qui se ab ineunte aetate causis forensibus et oratorio studio dederunt.

9. 'Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt, voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. Licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum, aures tuae, Materne, respuant: cui bono est, si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si

hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit aut salutat aut prosequitur? nempe si amicus eius, si propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut, cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur, ut sint qui dignentur audire. Et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit. Et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis illa laus intra unum aut alterum diem velut in herba vel flore praecerpta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem; nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucre. Laudavimus nuper, ut miram et eximiam, Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. Pulchrum id quidem indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri; quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium propitiare, suam experire liberalitatem! Adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.

10. 'Ne opinio quidem et fama, cui soli serviunt et quod unum esse pretium omnis laboris sui fatentur, aeque poetas quam oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci. Quando enim vel rarissimarum recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat?

nedum ut per tot provincias innotescat; quotus quisque, cum ex Hispania vel Asia (ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar) in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? atque adeo si quis requirit, ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est, ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. Neque hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo, tamquam eos, quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit, deterream a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae. Ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem et epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque aliam speciem eloquentia habeat, anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis credo. Sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae te ferat, errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus subsistis. Ut, si in Graecia natus esses, ubi ludicras quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires dei dedissent, non paterer inmanes illos et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate iaculi aut iactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et [ad causas et ad] vera proelia voco, cum praesertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offensae poetarum quam oratorum studium. Effervescit enim vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo, sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. Nec excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu: meditatus videris [aut] elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. Sentio

quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes adsensus, haec in ipsis auditoriis praecipue laudari et mox omnium sermonibus ferri. Tolle igitur quietis et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi sumas adversarium superiorem; nobis satis sit privatas et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus [expressis] si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata.'

Answer of Maternus, 'Defence of Poetry.'

11. Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus 'Parantem' inquit 'me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo eis qui causas agere non possent, ut versus facerent. Ego autem sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem in Neronem improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii potentiam fregi; et hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. Ac iam me deiungere a forensi labore constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam salutantium concupisco, non magis quam aera et imagines, quae etiam me nolente in domum meam inruperunt. Nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tuetur quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint.

12. 'Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem, ut inter

praecipuos carminum fructus numerem, quod non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit; sic oracula loquebantur. Nam lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et ex malis moribus natus atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. Ceterum felix illud et, ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum et oratorum et criminum inops poetis et vatibus abundabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa defenderent. Nec ullis aut gloria maior erat aut augustior honor, primum apud deos, quorum proferre responsa et interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos deis genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum, sed Orphea ac Linum et, si introspicere altius velis, ipsum Apollinem accepimus. Vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi. Plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui Vergilii detrectent, nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

13. ‘Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contubernium comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia oratorum vita. Licet illos certamina et pericula sua vel ad consulatus evexerint, malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud Divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia.

Testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum. Ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. Nam Crispus iste et Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent in hac sua fortuna concupiscendum? Quod timent an quod timentur? quod, cum cotidie aliquid rogentur, ei quibus non praestant indignantur? quod adligati omni adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? quae haec summa eorum potentia est? tantum posse liberti solent. Me vero *dulces*, ut Vergilius ait, *Musae* remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant, nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar. Non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere, quandoque [enim] fatalis meus dies veniet, statuar[que] tumulo non maestus et atrox, sed hilaris et coronatus, et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget.'

Interruption of the Discussion by the Entrance of Messalla.

14. Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instinctus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem inter eos esse sermonem, 'Num parum tempestivus' inquit 'interveni secretum consilium aut causae alicuius meditationem tractantibus?'

'Minime, minime' inquit Secundus, 'atque adeo vellem

maturius intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum, ut omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret, exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta, utque poetas defendi decebat, ardentior et poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio.'

'Me vero' inquit [et] 'sermo ille infinita voluptate adfecisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus tantum negotiis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra exercetis, sed eius modi etiam disputationes adsumitis, quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis, qui illa disputatis, adferunt, tum etiam eis ad quorum aures pervenerint. Itaque hercule non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iulii Africani vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eius modi librorum, quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere.'

15. Tum Aper: 'Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia inridere atque contemnere. Nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes; eoque, credo, audacius, quod malignitatis opinionem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam, quam tibi alii concedunt, ipse tibi denegares.'

'Neque illius' inquit 'sermonis mei paenitentiam ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo. Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum, ut

causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat, quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro. Et quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graecis accidisse, ut longius absit ab Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste Nicetes et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit, quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessistis.'

16. 'Magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movisti. Sed quis eam iustius explicabit quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?'

Et Messalla 'Aperiam' inquit 'cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis.'

'Pro duobus' inquit Maternus 'promitto; nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes, quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse. Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paullo ante dixisti et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.'

Aper's Second Speech. (a) *Meaning of 'antiquus.'*

'Non enim' inquit Aper 'inauditum et indefensum saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari. Sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista determinetis. Ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam veteres et olim natos intellego, ac mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor, quorum aetas mille fere et trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit: vos autem Demosthenem et Hyperidem

profertis, quos satis constat Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut utrique superstites essent. Ex quo apparet non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem: quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur; si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum inmensi huius aevi, perquam breve et in proximo est. Nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus et verus annus, quo eadem positio caeli siderumque, quae cum maxime est, rursum existet, isque annus horum quos nos vocamus annorum $\overline{\mathrm{XII}}$DCCCCLIIII complectitur, incipit Demosthenes [vester], quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno quo nos, sed etiam eodem mense extitisse.

17. 'Sed transeo ad Latinos oratores in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponere voletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium et Messallam: quos quid antiquis potius temporibus adscribatis quam nostris, non video. Nam ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, septimo idus Decembres occisus est, quo anno Divus Augustus in locum Pansae et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. Statue sex et quinquaginta annos, quibus mox Divus Augustus rem publicam rexit, adice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope quadriennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos, atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii longum et unum annum, ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem, quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet. Centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in

hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas. Nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem, qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanniae arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. Ita si eum qui armatus C. Caesari restitit vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, aeque idem Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. Proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes, qui se a Divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium narrabant. Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinium audire potuisse [nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad extremum duravit]; ne dividatis saeculum et antiquos ac veteres vocitetis oratores, quos eorundem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.'

(b) *Criticism of the Republican Orators.*

18. 'Haec ideo praedixi, ut, si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut C. Carboni quosque alios merito antiquos vocaverimus; sunt enim horridi et impoliti et rudes et informes et quos utinam nulla parte miratus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. Agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo, si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi. Sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus. Nec quaero, quis disertissimus: hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non

esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque, quos vocatis antiquos, plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. Num dubitamus inventos, qui Porcio Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed supra modum exsultans et superfluens et parum Atticus videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere, Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et aridum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tamquam *fractum* atque *elumbem.* Si me interroges, omnes [mihi] videntur verum dixisse; sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negotium est.

19. 'Nam, quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut terminum antiquitatis constituere solent, qui usque ad Cassium Severum [. . . faciunt], quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab illa vetere [atque directa] dicendi via, non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad aliud dicendi genus contendo, sed iudicio et intellectu. Vidit namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam. Facile perferebat prior ille populus ut imperitus et rudis impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat, si dicendo quis diem eximeret. Iam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationum alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus et

quidquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur, in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus philosophiam videretur atque ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur. Nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita, et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecepta rhetorum aut philosophorum placita cognoverant. At hercule pervulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina quisquam adsistat, quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure et legibus cognoscunt nec accipiunt tempora, sed constituunt, nec exspectandum habent oratorem, dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.

20. 'Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem, qualia sunt fere principia Corvini? quis quinque in Verrem libros exspectabit? quis de exceptione et formula perpetietur illa inmensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio aut Aulo Caecina legimus? praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicentem et, nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur [dicentem]. Vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis, nec magis perfert in iudiciis tristem et inpexam antiquitatem quam si quis in scaena Q. Roscii aut Turpionis [aut] Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. Iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi, qui profectus sui causa oratores sectantur, non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid inlustre et dignum

memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enituit. Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior et ornatior extitit. Neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae, quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. Quid enim, si infirmiora horum temporum templa credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis extruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur ?

21. 'Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenere. Nec unum de populo . . . † Canuti aut Arri de Furnio et Toranio quosque alios in eodem valetudinario ob haec ossa et hanc maciem probant. Ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una aut altera oratiuncula satis facit. Nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo iudicio video: quotus enim quisque Calvi in Asitium aut in Drusum legit? At hercle in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac praecipue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententiis, auribus iudicum accommodata, ut scias ipsum quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei, quo minus sublimius et cultius diceret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. Quid ? ex Caelianis orationibus nempe eae placent, sive universae sive partes earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum adgnoscimus. Sordes autem reliquae verborum et hians compositio et

inconditi sensus redolent antiquitatem; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto, ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. Concedamus sane C. Caesari, ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia effecerit, quam divinum eius ingenium postulabat, tam hercule quam Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus, nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam admiratores eius fatentur: nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro Decitio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur; fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius quoque, quamquam propioribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse; Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam in orationibus suis expressit; adeo durus et siccus est. Oratio autem sicut corpus hominis ea demum pulchra est, in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. Nolo Corvinum insequi, quia nec per ipsum stetit, quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret, videmus enim quam iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

22. 'Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim antiquos mirabantur; ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ulla re magis oratores eiusdem aetatis praecurrit quam iudicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam

sententias invenit, utique in eis orationibus quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores eius orationes non carent vitiis antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit; pauci sensus apte . . . cum quodam lumine terminantur. Nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio firmus sane paries est et duraturus, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet, non ea solum instrui supellectili quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et adspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et obsoleta; nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tardā et inertī structura in morem annalium componantur; fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.

23. 'Nolo inridere *rotam Fortunae* et *ius verrinum* et illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum *esse videatur.* Nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque exprimunt ei qui se antiquos oratores vocitant. Neminem nominabo, genus hominum significasse contentus; sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidii Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum

nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt, oderunt, Calvi mirantur. Quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti illam ipsam quam iactant sanitatem non firmitate, sed ieiunio consequuntur. Porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae animi anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse: fortem et laetum et alacrem volo; prope abest ab infirmitate, in quo sola sanitas laudatur. Vos vero, viri disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi. Nam et te, Messalla, video laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum, ea, quotiens causa poscit, ubertas, ea, quotiens permittit, brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis adfectus, sic libertatem temperatis ut, etiam si nostra iudicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri.'

Comments of Maternus on Aper's Speech.

24. Quae cum Aper dixisset, 'Adgnoscitisne' inquit Maternus 'vim et ardorem Apri nostri? quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! Quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est per quae mox ipsos incesseret! Tuum tamen, Messalla, promissum inmutasse non debet; neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quemquam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, eis quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed

more vetere et a veteribus philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contra dicendi partes. Igitur exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit.'

Messalla's Answer to Aper's Criticisms.

25. Tum Messalla: 'Sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur, quos satis constat ante centum annos fuisse. Mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est: sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine adpellet, dum modo in confesso sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam fuisse. Ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno, si cominus fatetur plures formas dicendi etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis, extitisse. Sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium tamen concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. Nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictior Calvus, nervosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero; omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae praeferunt, ut, si omnium pariter libros

in manum sumpseris, scias, quamvis in diversis ingeniis, esse quandam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. Nam quod in vicem se obtrectaverunt et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium, sed hominum. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronem credo solitos et invidere et livore et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici; solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue iudicium animi sui detexisse. An ille Ciceroni invideret, qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? Quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet et si quos alios antiquiorum Aper agitare non destitit, id non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quaedam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse.

26. 'Ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercule C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orationem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire. Neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercule ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur ut lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis histrionales modos exprimant. Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos; unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens [sicut his] exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. Equidem non negaverim Cassium Severum, quem solum Aper noster nominare ausus est, si eis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse

oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis; primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non pugnat sed rixatur. Ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat, quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. Ego autem expectabam, ut incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret, ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus. Nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores contentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est, nisi in publicum et in commune, veritus, credo, ne multos offenderet, si paucos excerpsisset. Quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, etsi plane post Gabinianum? At ego non verebor nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis appareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia.'

Maternus reminds the Speaker of the Point at Issue.

27. 'Parce' inquit Maternus 'et potius exsolve promissum. Neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus, quas te solitum tractare dixisti, paulo ante plane mitior et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet maiores tuos lacessendo.'

'Non sum' inquit 'offensus Apri mei disputatione, nec vos offendi decebit, si quid forte aures vestras perstrin-

gat cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre.'

'Perge' inquit Maternus 'et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia.'

Speech of Messalla on the Causes of the Decline of Oratory.

28. Et Messalla: 'Non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus. Quis enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descivisse ab illa vetere gloria, non inopia hominum, sed desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui? Quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, iam in provincias manant. Quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quae natos statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero.'

On the Education of Children.

'Nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cellula emptae nutricis, sed in gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis; aut eligebatur maior aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis spectatisque moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur, coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum sanctitate qua-

dam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti [matrem] praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. Quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et [in] nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore adriperet artes honestas et, sive ad militarem rem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

29. 'At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus [et] virides statim et teneri [rudes] animi imbuuntur, nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet, quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. Quin etiam ipsi parentes non probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt, sed lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudentia inrepit [et sui alienique contemptus]. Iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia, quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotum quemque invenies qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur? quos alios adulescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? nec praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.'

On the Education of the Orator.

30. 'Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et ipsis parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur; sed expetuntur quos *rhetoras* vocant. Quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit [de curiis] statim referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus, quorum infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum adsiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum, quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. Itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non denique ullius ingenuae artis scientiam ei defuisse. Ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita est: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque orationis vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator, qui de

omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatum temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

31. 'Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut [in] iis artibus pectus implerent, in quibus de bonis et malis de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta ad dicendum materia. Nam in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus de utilitate, in laudationibus de honestate disserimus, sed ita ut plerumque haec in vicem misceantur; de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat, qui scit quid ira, promptius ad miserationem impellat, qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. In his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum et prout cuiusque natura postulabit, adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputa-

tionem paratos iam locos. Dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucunditatem; ne Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere eisque, prout res poscit, uti alienum erit oratori. Neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed eum qui quasdam artes haurire, omnes libare debet. Ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica geometria imbuebantur: incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem, in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

32. 'Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere ut ad tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. Primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. Deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliud agentes nos ornat atque, ubi minime credas, eminet et excellit, idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit ac statim ita laude prosequitur, ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo nisi eum qui, tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit. Quod adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis, ut in actionibus eorum huius quoque cotidiani sermonis foeda ac pudenda vitia deprehendantur, ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, ius suae civitatis ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident. In paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo,

ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine adparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. Ego hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror, cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. Si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? et Cicero his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia effecerit, id se non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiis consecutum. Sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam meum munus explevi et, quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi; quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse.'

Maternus requests Messalla to continue.

33. Et Maternus 'Mihi quidem' inquit 'susceptum a te munus adeo peregisse nondum videris ut incohasse tantum et velut vestigia ac liniamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. Nam quibus artibus instrui veteres oratores soliti sint, dixisti differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera expecto, ut, quem ad modum ex te didici, quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. Neque enim solum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri, nec tu, puto, abnues et hi significare vultu videntur.'

Messalla, complying, deals with the Forensic Exercises of the Young Orator.

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: 'Quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc exercitationes eorum. Quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot, tam varias ac reconditas, res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat, per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. Sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur, isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum, quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.

34. 'Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset, utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. Magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, quo minus et iudex respuat et adversarius exprobret, ipsi denique *advocati* aspernentur. Igitur vera statim et incorrupta

eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequerentur, tamen omnes eiusdem aetatis patronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant; habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent, quid in quoque vel probaretur vel displiceret. Ita nec praeceptor deerat, optimus quidem et electissimus, qui faciem eloquentiae non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli, ferro non rudibus dimicantes, nec auditorium semper plenum [semper novum], ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene nec male dicta dissimularentur. Scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam in suis; inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corroborari. Atque hercule sub eius modi praeceptoribus iuvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui cotidie audienti notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. Nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicensimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt, quas hodieque cum admiratione legimus.

35. 'At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in scholas istorum qui rhetores vocantur; quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod a [M.] Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, *ludum impudentiae* iussi sunt. Sed, ut dicere institueram, deducuntur in scholas, in

quibus non facile dixerim, utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferat. Nam in loco nihil reverentiae est, in quem nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adulescentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. Nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. Ex his suasoriae quidem, etsi tamquam plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes, pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus adsignantur, quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae! Sequitur autem, ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatarum electiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum aut quidquid aliud in schola cotidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis persequantur: cum ad veros iudices ventum'—

[*End of Messalla's and Beginning of Secundus' Speech lost.*]

—'rem cogitant. Nihil humile, nihil abiectum eloqui poterat.'

Eloquence as affected by Political Conditions.

36. 'Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit. Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet, quantum

erranti populo persuadere poterat. Hinc leges adsiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et adsidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. Quae singula etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. Quin immo sibi ipsi persuaserant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum. Nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere, nisi quis ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in publicis iudiciis non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cogerentur. Ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat, et quo modo disertum haberi pulchrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.

37. 'Ergo non minus rubore quam praemiis stimulabantur, ne clientulorum loco potius quam patronorum

numerarentur, ne traditae a maioribus necessitudines ad alios transirent, ne tamquam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impetrarent aut impetratos male tuerentur. Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur ac iam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt. Ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse, Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos et Curiones et ceteram procerum manum multum in his studiis operae curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consecutum. His accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant. Nam multum interest, utrumne de furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas an de ambitu comitiorum aut expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis. Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est, isque optimus civitatis status habendus est in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent, ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et inlustrem orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. Nec, opinor, Demosthenem orationes inlustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quinctius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt; non quia tanti fuerit rei publicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius tur-

bidis et inquietis temporibus existit. Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie, quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit, quoque maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore hominum agit, quorum ea natura est ut secura velint, periculosa mirentur.'

Eloquence as affected by the Procedure in the Law Courts of the Republic.

38. 'Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum. Quae etsi nunc aptior existit, eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat, in quo nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. Primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur; apud quos quanto maiora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur, ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius magni oratoris liber apud centumviros dictus legatur, exceptis orationibus Asinii, quae pro heredibus Urbiniae inscribuntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidua senatus tranquillitas et maxime prin-

cipis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam, sicut omnia, depacaverat.

39. 'Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen vel ideo ut rideatur. Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae adtulisse paenulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur! Quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus iam fere plurimae causae explicantur! Nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur, debilitatur ac frangitur eloquentia. Ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis stili anxietatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe interrogat iudex, quando incipias, et ex interrogatione eius incipiendum est, frequenter probationibus et testibus silentium praetor indicit. Unus inter haec dicenti aut alter adsistit et res velut in solitudine agitur. Oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est et velut quodam theatro; qualia cotidie antiquis oratoribus contingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. Satis constat C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. Itaque hercule eius modi libri extant, ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.

40. 'Iam vero contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria,

cum se plurimi disertorum ne a P. quidem Scipïone aut L. Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque [et histriones], auribus uterentur, quantum ardorem ingeniis, quas oratoribus faces admovebant!'

[*End of Secundus' Speech and Beginning of Maternus' Closing Address lost.*]

'Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocitant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine severitate, contumax temeraria adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. Quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepimus? quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur. Nec Macedonum quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit eloquentiam novimus; Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores extiterunt, apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant. Nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se partibus et dissensionibus et discordiis confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus magistratuum modus, tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam, sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores. Sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

41. 'Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori, non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis

argumentum est. Quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit, nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexatamque? atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari. Quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator, sicut inter sanos medicus; quo modo enim minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habet in eis gentibus quae firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis, cum optimi cito consentiant? quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus? quid voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur? quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus, cum clementia cognoscentis obviam periclitantibus eat? credite, optimi et, in quantum opus est, disertissimi viri, si aut vos prioribus saeculis aut illi quos miramur his nati essent, ac deus aliquis vitas vestras ac tempora repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum defuisset. Nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur.'

42. Finierat Maternus, cum Messalla: 'Erant quibus contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem, nisi iam dies esset exactus.' 'Fiet' inquit Maternus 'postea arbitratu tuo, et si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone *visa sunt,* de eis rursus conferemus.' Ac simul adsurgens

et Aprum complexus: 'Ego' inquit 'te poetis, Messalla [cum] antiquariis criminabimur.' 'At ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis' inquit.

Cum adrisissent, discessimus.

NOTES.

Page 1. Introduction. Chapters 1, 2. Tacitus, having been repeatedly requested to enumerate the causes of the decline of eloquence, complies by substituting for an original discussion what purports to be a faithful reproduction from memory of a debate on this very subject, which he as a young man had been privileged to listen to on the occasion of a visit of his teachers to the house of the poet Maternus.

Chapter 1. 1. Iuste Fabi: L. Fabius Iustus was an acquaintance of Pliny the Younger, the intimate friend of Tacitus. He was consul in 102 A.D. — The transposition of the cognomen (or praenomen) is still comparatively rare in classical prose, but exceedingly common in post-Augustan writers. It never occurs when all three names are given. In the Dialogus again ch. 8, 22. 23; 13, 5; 20, 29.

2. saecula: *times, periods.* In this general sense the word is post-Augustan. **ingeniis gloriaque** = *ingeniorum gloria.* Hendiadys.

3. deserta: this word, partially suggested perhaps by *floruerint*, is often used of a fallow field. Roman writers are characteristically fond of metaphors taken from the pursuits of agriculture and of war. Cp. ch. 6 fin.; 9, 14; 40, 24.

6. diserti: generally opposed to *eloquens* or *orator.* Cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 21, 94, *disertos cognosse me nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem.* Quintil. I. 10, 8, *fuit aliquis sine eis* (sc. *artibus*) *disertus. Sed ego oratorem volo.* This distinction is, however, not always consistently observed, e.g. ch. 17, 18; 18, 30; 27, 23. **causidici**: *pettifoggers.* The term is very rarely employed in a good sense. **advocati et patroni**: the *advocatus* assists his client by legal advice, or by his presence in court; the *patronus*, on the other hand, by actual pleading. **quidvis potius**: e.g. *actor, cognitor, iuris consultus, iuris peritus, defensor, litigator, leguleius.*

7. oratores: *real orators.* See note on *disertis* above. So again ch. 15, 25; 25, 19; 26, 1; 30, 30; 32, 22.

9. ingeniis: *mental capacity;* l. 14, *cleverness, power of invention;* l. 19, *mind and heart;* l. 23, *genius.*

10. iudiciis: *taste.* To refuse to imitate the superior models of the ancients would stamp us as poor judges of oratorical excellence. This entire paragraph can leave no doubt as to the side which Tacitus himself would have espoused in the subsequent debate.

12. ut: *considering the age we live in.* This so-called restrictive *ut* with an ablative is not uncommon in Tacitus. Cp. e.g. *Germ.* 45; *Hist.* III. 33.

14. iuvenis admodum: on the interpretation of this phrase, see *Introd.* p. x.

15. memoria et recordatione: *vivid recollection.* The collocation is common, and the tautology only apparent, for *memoria* (μνήμη) is the more generic term, denoting the abstract power by which we are enabled to reproduce impressions, *recordatione* (ἀνάμνησις) being joined with *et* for the sake of closer definition. This usage is characteristic of Tacitean style. Cp. e.g. ch. 9, 24; 13, 29; 16, 10; 19, 12; 22, 13; 24, 1; 39, 15; *Germ.* 2, 10; *Agr.* 45, 3; *Hist.* IV. 58; *Ann.* XIV. 3, 33.

17. diversas: *various.* Usually in the sense of opposite, as in l. 21, but, as here, *Germ.* 16, *colunt discreti et diversi; Hist.* III. 46, *si diversi inrupissent.*

18. causas: supply in thought *inmutatae eloquentiae.* **dum . . . redderent**: a *dum* clause subordinated to a clause with *cum* is very rare. Cp. *Ann.* XII. 68, *cum obtegeretur, dum reliqua . . . componuntur.* The imperfect subjunctive for the regular present indicative is due to assimilation to *adferrent.* **quisque** with a predicate in the plural is chiefly poetic, and, except in Livy, extremely rare in classical prose, the harshness of the construction being often lessened by a plural antecedent. So *singuli* here. **animi et ingenii**: often combined in Cicero, but in Tacitus only here. Cp., however, *Germ.* 29, *mente animoque.*

20. servato = *conservato*, in Tacitus only here and *Ann.* XII. 52. The use of the simple verb with the force of a compound is chiefly poetic and post-Augustan, but particularly frequent in Tacitus. In this treatise again, ch. 17, 4; 19, 22; 25, 17; 30, 30; 34, 17. 20; 38, 6. On the compound verb for the simple, see note ch. 7, 18. Translate: *I shall follow exactly the same lines of argument, retaining the order of the*

discussion. The entire passage seems modelled upon Cic. *de nat. deor.* III. 4, 10, *mandavi enim memoriae non numerum solum sed etiam ordinem argumentorum.* **neque enim**: implying an ellipsis, as usual. All the interlocutors adduced plausible reasons to show that a great change had come over oratory, but they were not equally unanimous in characterizing it as a decline, *for there was also one present who took quite the opposite side*, etc. **neque . . . ac**: in Tacitus only here.

22. eloquentiam . . . ingeniis: this does not signify that the eloquence of the moderns, on the one hand, was contrasted with the genius of the ancients, on the other, but the intellectual achievements of both periods in the field of oratory are mutually compared. The slightly illogical antithesis was occasioned by that desire for formal symmetry so characteristic of the style of this treatise. Cp. ch. 31, 15 f., and *Agr.* 21, *ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre.* — This prooemium, as, indeed, the entire dialogue, clearly betrays the strong influence which Cicero still exercised over the youthful author. Cp. esp. *de orat.* I. 2, 4, *ac mihi repetenda est veteris cuiusdam memoriae non sane satis explicata recordatio sed, ut arbitror apta ad id quod requiris, ut cognoscas quae viri omnium eloquentissimi clarissimique senserint.* Tacitus, again, like Cicero in the *de natura deorum*, takes no part in the debate, but remains a passive listener throughout.

Page 2. Chapter 2. **1. Nam**: beginning a new topic, where *igitur* is the more usual. Cp. ch. 19, 19; *Hist.* I. 1. **Curiatius Maternus**: see *Introd.* p. xxv. **Catonem**: a fabula praetexta dealing with the *nobile letum* of Cato the Younger, who committed suicide at Utica (Africa) in 46 B.C. This sturdy opponent of Caesar was extravagantly praised in the early empire by poets and rhetoricians, being frequently made the mouthpiece of liberal republican sentiments. Cp. Lucan's famous line, i. 128, *Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.*

2. offendisse potentium animos: probably referring to the Emperor and his all-powerful friends, such as Crispus and Marcellus. Vespasian was a humane ruler, and not easily provoked to harsh measures (cp. ch. 8, 12); still the banishment of Helvidius Priscus, and the expulsion of the Stoic and Cynic philosophers, were well calculated to arouse apprehensions for the continued immunity of the bold poet who had so openly given expression to his liberal convictions.

3. **tamquam**: introducing, not the subjective reasons of the author, but the opinion of others, is a Graecism (= ὡς), not rare in post-Augustan Latin and particularly frequent in Tacitus and his contemporary Suetonius. Cp. e.g. ch. 2, 17; 18, 14; 35, 9; *Agr.* 25; 38. **eo tragoediae argumento** = *eius tragoediae argumento*, an instance of hypallage. Cp. e.g. *Agr.* 4, *omnem* (= *omnium*) *honestarum artium cultum; Hist.* III. 20, *ignotae* (= *ignotum*) *situm urbis; Ann.* IV. 33, *clari* (= *clarorum*) *ducum exitus.* **tragoediae** = *fabula praetexta* is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. **argumentum**: *plot, treatment of subject matter.* **sui oblitus**, etc.: i.e. he had merged his own individuality so completely into that of his dramatic hero as to give a purely objective treatment of his theme. In doing so, Maternus proved himself to be a genuine artist, but his intense convictions made him forget that he was, to use a Tacitean phrase, no longer living in an age *ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.*

4. **cogitassent**: *cogitare* with the accusative, in place of the usual construction with *de*, which is not found in Tacitus, is more emphatic, signifying that the object of your thoughts takes complete possession of you. Cp. ch. 36, 19; *Agr.* 32, *maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.* So similarly *loqui* with acc., as in ch. 29, 24.

5. **sermo**: *talk of the town.* **M. Aper, I. Secundus**: see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

6. **tum** as well as *defuit, contemnebat, nesciebat*, below, shows that both of these orators were dead when the *Dialogus* was written, viz. between 79–81 A.D. **quos utrosque** = *quorum utrumque.* The plural may here be due to a kind of attraction, although *utrique* is not infrequently used, where two distinct individuals are regarded as closely associated.

8. **in publico**: *in public places*, as opposed to *domi* or *in privato.* **adsectabar**: *attended, waited upon.* The simple verb (*sectari*) is found in the same sense in ch. 20, 31; 34, 20. — Observe that T. here professes to have still followed the time-honored custom, the total extinction of which Messalla in a later chapter (34) is made to deplore. Cp. Quintilian, XII. 11, 5, *frequentabant vero eius* (sc. *Domitii Afri*) *domum optimi iuvenes more veterum.*

9. **cupiditas**: the history of this word in Tacitus's writings affords a good illustration of the genetic development in the style of T. (see *Introd.* p. xv). It occurs three times in the smaller works, the shorter *cupido* only once. In the *Histories* the ratio is 5 : 31; in the *Annals*, finally, *cupido* has completely routed its competitor, being found 47

times. **fabulas**: *ordinary conversation, small talk;* ch. 3, 23, *gossip;* ch. 29, 13, *tales;* ch. 3, 10, *Ann.* XII. 58, *legends; Ann.* XIII. 21, *drama.*

10. disputationes: *debates* such as the *Dialogus* itself. **arcana semotae dictionis**: probably identical with the rhetorical exercises designated by the elder Seneca as *domesticae* and *secretae.* — The substantival use of neuter plural adjectives is more common in T. than in any other prose writer.

11. quamvis introducing a statement of fact is post-Augustan usage, comparatively rare in T., but always construed by him with a subjunctive. **plerique**: like *plerumque*, is more frequent in T. in its restricted sense of *very many, very often.* So here, and ch. 10, 25; 15, 1; 26, 22; 29, 12.

13. institutione et litteris: the more specific follows the general term. See note, ch. 1, 15. Here it subserves the additional purpose of balancing the two preceding substantives.

14. consecutum: sc. *esse.* The infinitive of the copula is usually, the present indicative very frequently, omitted; other parts of *esse* more rarely. **nam**: like *enim*, often implies an ellipsis. 'But this criticism is unjust, for Secundus,' etc. **purus . . . pressus . . . profluens**: *idiomatic, concise, fluent.* Observe the alliteration, of which T. is more fond than any other Latin prose-writer. Instances in this treatise are: ch. 4, 17; 5, 13; 11, 4; 12, 18; 18, 6; 20, 23; 22, 3. 8. 14; 26, 14; 29, 7. 9; 30, 12; 31, 29; 32, 9; 36, 16; 40, 6.

15. in quantum: for the more usual *quantum.* Cp. ch. 41, 14. So similarly *in tantum*, ch. 24, 27; 32, 16.

17. tamquam: this characterization of Aper is too closely modelled upon Antonius in Cic. *de orat.* II. 1, 4, to be historically accurate: *Antonium probabiliorem hoc populo orationem fore censebat suam si omnino didicisse numquam putaretur; atque ita se uterque* (Crassus and Antonius) *graviorem fore si alter contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Graecos videretur.* — Natural aptitude and painstaking diligence are frequently contrasted; e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 67, 237, *P. Murena mediocri ingenio . . . magni laboris fuit . . . L. Turius parvo ingenio sed multo labore;* and Plutarch, *Demosth.* 8, δόξαν ἔσχεν ὡς οὐκ εὐφυὴς ὢν ἀλλ' ἐκ πόνου συγκειμένῃ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος.

18. habiturus: sc. *esset.* The harshness of such ellipses is often lessened by a following subjunctive, which prevents any possible ambiguity. Cp. *Agr.* 24, *idque . . . profuturum (esse) si Romana ubique arma (essent) et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.*

Chapters 3, 4. Although Secundus had implored the poet to omit in the drama, when published, such passages as had given offence, and although Aper had deprecated the precious time wasted upon so unprofitable and dangerous a pursuit as poetry, Maternus, while determined to remain true to his convictions and to abandon the irksome duties of the forum, suggests a renewed discussion of a question, often debated between them, regarding the alleged superiority of oratory over poetry.

Chapter 3. **20. igitur**: out of 174 instances in T., *igitur* is postpositive but seven times, viz. ch. 8, 21; 10, 3; 20, 7; *Agr.* 16; *Germ.* 45; *Hist.* IV. 15; *Ann.* I. 47. **intravimus**: the first person plural, thus including the author, is here used to indicate the beginning of the dialogue proper. See note, ch. 42, 4.

21. librum = *tragedy*, so ch. 3, 30: = *oration*, e.g. ch. 12, 25; 20, 19; 21, 19; 25, 30; 26, 1; 38, 25; 39, 28: = *written work*, ch. 9, 8. **inter manus**: for the more usual *in manibus.*

22. deprehendimus: *came upon*, implies surprise. Cp. *Agr.* 7, *nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus.* The paragraph seems to have been suggested by Cic. *de nat. deor.* I. 6, 15, *ad eum . . . venissem, offendi eum sedentem in exhedra et . . . disputantem.*

24. quo minus: after a negative, T. often uses *quo minus*, where *quin* is the more common. Cp. e.g. ch. 3, 4; 21, 28; 34, 27; *Agr.* 20; *Hist.* I. 40, II. 41; *Ann.* I. 21. **offensas . . . ames**: closely approaches the figure known as oxymoron. In the *Annals*, T. uses *offensio* exclusively. — The idea that poets are enamored of their own writings is a commonplace. Cp. e.g. Plato, *Republ.* I. 330 C, ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ αὑτῶν ποιήματα καὶ οἱ πατέρες τὰς παῖδας ἀγαπῶσι; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* V. 22, 63, *adhuc neminem cognovi poetam qui sibi non optimus videretur; sic res se habet: te tua, me delectant mea;* Ovid, *Trist.* IV. 1, 30, *nos quoque delectant quamvis nocuere libelli;* Seneca, *Controv.* II. 2, 10, *non ignoravit vitia sua, sed amavit* (sc. *Ovidius*).

26. pravae interpretationi: *misinterpretation.* The over-cautious Secundus is half-inclined to regard what was only rumored (*diceretur*) as having had a foundation in fact. Hence the indicative *offenderunt*, the conditional (*si qua*), in place of the simple relative clause, being used to express this conviction less harshly.

27. non quidem meliorem: is post-Augustan usage for *non meliorem quidem* or *non illum quidem meliorem.* Cp. e.g. ch. 5, 26;

9, 6; 34, 6; *Ann.* IV. 7; V. 5; XV. 71. — This prudent advice admirably accords with the character of Secundus as sketched by Quintilian (see *Introd.* p. xxviii), and, at the same time, voices the historian's own sentiments, as is evident from many passages, e.g. *Hist.* I. 1, *uberiorem securioremque materiam senectuti seposui; Ann.* XIV. 12, *sibi causam periculi fecit* (sc. *Paetus Thrasea*), *ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit;* and especially the famous lines in the *Agr.* 42, *non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat . . . obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis escendere quo plerique per abrupta sed in nullum rei publicae usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.*

29. Leges = *legendo intelleges.* **Maternus**: the speaker uses his own name, in place of a personal pronoun, by way of emphasis. It is a kind of *enallage*, and is common in all languages from Homer down. Cp. ch. 13, 3; *Hist.* V. 21; *Ann.* I. 13; XII. 64, and e.g. Shakespeare, *Jul. Caes.* 'Cassius from bondage shall deliver Cassius.'

31. Thyestes: not the hero Thyestes, but the tragedy of that name, as is clear from ch. 9, 30. The real speaker was Agamemnon. The play of Maternus cannot therefore have dealt, or, at least, not exclusively, with the celebrated *Cena Thyestea*, but must have included the later phase of the story, in which Agamemnon, now grown to man's estate, plays an important rôle in the capture of Thyestes at Delphi — a scene which afforded ample opportunities for the eloquent harangues of Agamemnon alluded to by Aper. The *Medea* and *Thyestes* are the only Greek tragedies attributed to Maternus, who, in ch. 12, 26, significantly singles out the Thyestes of Varius, and the Medea of Ovid, as the most-admired dramas in Roman literature. This suggests the possibility that these famous plays constituted the models of Maternus' own dramas, a conjecture which would explain Aper's otherwise unwarranted inference that Agamemnon appeared in the new tragedy just announced by Maternus. The Medea had been published before the Cato, and was, therefore, already known to the speaker. — By way of contrast with the behavior of Maternus and of Scaurus, whose tragedy *Atreus* was a covert attack upon the emperor Tiberius, we may compare the story related by Seneca, *Controv.* X. praef. 8, of T. Labienus: *memini aliquando, cum recitaret historiam, magnam partem illum libri convolvisse et dixisse "haec quae transeo post mortem meam legentur."*

32. intra me ipse: Tacitus generally places *ipse* in the nominative, when used in connection with an oblique case of a personal or

possessive pronoun; the relative or personal pronoun always precedes, with but one apparent exception, in ch. 15, 5, where see note.

Page 3. **1. maturare . . . festino**: *I hasten to put the finishing touches to my edition of the tragedy*, i.e. bring it to completion for publication. *Maturo*, as well as *maturesco*, often has this meaning, e.g. ch. 26, 18; *Hist.* I. 12. The sense *to hasten* is not the original signification, which would, moreover, involve a tautology. **editio**: like our *edition*, ἔκδοσις. In this concrete sense, the word is not common till late Latin.

2. cura: by a kind of metonymy for literary composition generally; here the *tragedy Cato*. This usage is poetic, but no exact parallel is found in Latin prose except in T. Cp. ch. 6, 25; 28, 27; *Ann.* III. 24, *si . . . plures ad curas vitam produxero;* IV. 11, *quorum in manus cura nostra venerit;* Ovid, *Epist. ex Pont.* IV. 16, 39, *quod inedita cura est;* Mart. *Epigr.* I. 107, 5. **cogitationi** = *consilio*, a meaning peculiar to T. Cp. ch. 21, 4; *Agr.* 39; *Hist.* I. 27; II. 74; *Ann.* XV. 54. **toto pectore**: again, ch. 28, 6. Proverbial, and especially frequent in Cicero. **incumbam** with dative is the invariable rule in T. Cicero uses *ad* or *in*, e.g. *ad fam.* X. 10, 2, *incumbe toto pectore ad laudem;* 3, 3, *incumbe in eam curam et cogitationem.*

3. inquit is unusually far removed from the beginning of the sentence, in which it generally occupies the second or third place. Similar instances are found in ch. 42 extr. and in Cic. *Acad. Post.* I. 4, 14.

4. quo minus = *quin.* See note ch. 3, 24. Here used as an epexegetic adversative conjunction ('but'). So ch. 34, 27; and *Ann.* V. 5, *nec ultra deliberatum quo minus . . . decernerent.*

5. modo . . . nunc = *modo . . . modo.* So *Hist.* II. 51; III. 85. In *Ann.* IV. 51, we have *nunc . . . nunc.* **circa** = *de.* So e.g. ch. 28, 18; *Germ.* 28; *Hist.* I. 13; *Ann.* XI. 15; XVI. 8. Quintilian has over sixty instances. **ecce**: rarely emphasizes a single word (*nunc*), and occurs only here in T. It is used to show that the announcement of still another tragedy from the pen of Maternus is surprising news to Aper.

7. clientelae: colonies and municipalities were wont to place themselves under the protection of some illustrious Roman citizen, who thus became their patron or legal representative.

8. suffeceris: the perfect, in place of the imperfect subjunctive, is here used to express Aper's conviction more politely. **novum**:

Maternus began his poetic career as early as the reign of Nero (ch. 11, 18), *novus* must, therefore, here mean *additional*. So in *Ann.* II. 2, 16, *nova vitia*. **negotium** = *res* is colloquial. Cp. ch. 18, 18. The word is often used with the accessory notion of something troublesome, and thus passes easily into the meaning of 'law case.' Cf. ch. 19, 15; 38, 19. **importasses** = *imposuisses*. In its figurative sense, this verb invariably refers to disagreeable things, and it is in this light that Aper regards the occupation to which Maternus proposes to devote himself.

9. Domitium: *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, consul in 32 B.C., the partisan of Marc Antony, and the same who appears in Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra as Enobarbus.

10. historias . . . fabulis: the two terms are here clearly distinguished, but to the ancients the line of demarcation was generally very slight. Cp. Quint. X. 1, 31, *historia proxima poetis*. The Latin poets regard them as synonymous, e.g. Plaut. *Bacch.* 156, *satis historiarum* (on Hercules and Linus), Hor. *Od.* III. 7, 20, of Peleus; Iuv. VI. 450, *nec historias* (myths) *sciat omnes*. **Graeculorum**: this diminutive generally, as here, expresses contempt. Cp. c. 29, 10; Iuv. III. 78, *Graeculus esuriens*.

11. nostras . . . adgregares: this clause shows that Maternus' earliest tragedies were based on Greek legend. The play alluded to in ch. 11, 18, cannot, therefore, have been a *praetexta*.

Chapter 4. **12. Et**: at the beginning of a paragraph marks the transition to a new topic. Cp. ch. 28, 6, where *inquit* is likewise omitted, 16, 13; 33, 19. **hac tua**: a frequent collocation in this treatise, but in the other works of T. only *Hist.* II. 47. It is apparently colloquial usage. Cicero's speeches contain but a single instance, in Quintilian it is very rare, but quite common in Pliny's letters.

13. frequens et adsidua, etc.: *to dispute repeatedly and earnestly had well-nigh become a habit with us*. The adjectives are used predicatively.

14. vertisset: often, as here, with the force of the middle; e.g. *Agr.* 31; *Germ.* 31; *Hist.* IV. 27; *Ann.* XIII. 37. **agitare et insequi**: synonymic collocations are particularly abundant in the *Dialogus*, and especially so in Aper's speeches. Nearly all of them can be paralleled from Cicero, where they are, however, very often found in the *inverse* order, a fact which in many instances betrays direct indebtedness on the part of T. Cp. Cic. *de div.* II. 70, 144;

insectans . . . et agitans; but *pro Mur.* 9, 21, *agitat . . . insectatur.* — Observe also that while Cicero, e.g., uses *et, ac, atque,* indifferently, T. in the *Dialogus,* with but two exceptions (ch. 9, 31; 17, 4), combines synonyms by *et* (ch. 7, 8; 9, 8; 11, 16; 17, 16; 26, 21; 30, 28; 32, 18; 39, 27); but if the second verb stands in some causal relation to the first, he writes *atque* (ch. 6, 30; 15, 22. 1; 17, 16; 23, 26; 32, 18).

16. cotidianum = *cotidie.* This use of the adjective for the adverb is most frequent in Livy and T. In this treatise, ch. 7, 32; 13, 2. 17; 14, 27; 23, 25; 33, 13; 36, 25. 26; 37, 7. **patrocinium defendendae**: observe the redundancy, the idea contained in the verb being already implied in the noun. Cp. Sueton. *Caes.* 52, *defensione ac patrocinio res egeret.* A perfectly analogous instance is found in Val. Max. p. 403, 9, Kempf, *pictor luctuosum inmolatae Iphigeniae sacrificium referens,* where *inmolatae* is pleonastic.

18. vel . . . vel: is sometimes used where two statements mutually exclude each other and even where the choice is far from being a matter of indifference. We expect *aut . . . aut.* But in all similar instances (e.g. *Hist.* I. 21; *Ann.* XIII. 41; XIV. 35) the alternative is an imaginary subjective proposition, the second *vel* having frequently the force of *vel potius.* — The selection of an umpire for a debate seems to be characteristic of later dialogue compositions, the device being frequently resorted to by Plutarch. The present is the earliest known example.

21. mihi = *a me;* the so-called subjective dative after passive verbs is chiefly poetic and still rare in pre-Augustan Latin. T. has the construction more than thirty times. In the smaller works, only here and ch. 32, 12; *Agr.* 2; *Germ.* 16; 34. **satis superque sudatum**: observe the alliteration. Cp. *Agr.* 16, *seditio sine sanguine stetit;* and note to ch. 2, 14. **sanctiorem, augustiorem**: a favorite collocation in Cicero.

Chapters 5–10. After Secundus had begged to be excused from acting as umpire in the proposed discussion, Aper begins his Defence of Oratory (chs. 5–10), speaking first, of the usefulness of eloquence (— ch. 6); second, of the pleasures derived from it (— ch. 7); and third, of the dignity and the glory to be won by it (— ch. 8), in all of which poetry is held to be inferior as affording but a transitory delight (— ch. 9), and an at best ephemeral reputation, which in turn is often acquired at the expense of personal safety, comfort, and tranquillity of mind (— ch. 10 extr.).

Chapter 5. **24. probi et modesti**: *honorable and conscientious.* The two words are very often combined, *modestus* being the regular term for an upright judge. **solent**: sc. *facere.* This ellipsis is common enough, but usually the same verb, as here, immediately precedes. So e.g. Cic. *Verr.* IV. 9, 21, *fecisti ut praedones solent.*

26. praevalere = *plus valere.* Post-Augustan, and very common in T.

27. usu amicitiae, etc.: pleonastic. Cicero says, *de nat. deor.* II. 38, 96, *adsiduitate cotidiana et consuetudine.*

28. contubernii: originally designated, as its etymology (from *taberna*) implies, *tent companionship of soldiers,* and was then used of persons associated by friendly ties, and often sharing the same dwelling. Translate: *connected by friendly intercourse and intimate association.* **Saleius Bassus**: again referred to by Aper (ch. 9), but not without a tinge of irony. Quint. X. 1, 90, reviewing the epic poets, rather tempers the glowing eulogy of Secundus, by saying, *vehemens et poeticum ingenium Salei Bassi fuit nec ipsum senectute maturuit.* The *fuit* and *maturuit* show that the old poet was dead when these words were written (94 A.D.).

29. absolutissimum: a double superlative, instances of which are quite common in Latin; e.g. *perfectissimus,* but the word is very rarely used of persons. Cp. Cic. *de div.* II. 72, 150, *qui (philosophi) prope iam absoluti et perfecti.* — With the ὁμοιοτέλευτον, cp. ch. 14, 12 f., *Ann.* XV. 37, *superpositum convivium navium aliarum;* Liv. XXIII. 48, *eum ipsum tributum conferentium numerum.*

30. reum locupletiorem seems to be a legal phrase. Cp. Liv. IX. 9, 18, *nos sumus rei satis locupletes; Digests* XII. 1, 41, *reum locupletem offerre.* Secundus means to say "If poetry is to be on trial, then I know no more weighty defendant than my intimate friend Bassus, wherefore I am the more disinclined to sit in judgment on a case in which all my sympathies are on one side."

In Aper's Defence of Oratory, which now follows, the author has admirably succeeded in individualizing the speaker, both in style and sentiment, for in his fondness for metaphors, pleonastic collocations, and rhythmical balancing of clauses, Aper stands out in bold relief as a typical representative of the rhetorically elaborated eloquence of his day. That this effect is brought about in spite of the fact that the author has repeatedly appropriated Ciceronian 'motives' and phrases, proves, on the one hand, that the speech is not strictly historical, and, on the other, that T., even in his youth, was no servile imitator,

but an artist who breathed a new originality even into borrowed material.

Page 4. 1. **quisquis alius**: a favorite phrase of T., and, with one exception (*Ann.* XIV. 33), always in this order.

2. **gloriam**: generally *renown* won in the service of one's country, especially on the field of battle. In this treatise, it is throughout used of *literary fame*, and so again in *Ann.* XII. 28, *carminum gloria;* 58, *eloquentiae gloria.* **fovet**: another favorite word of T., and often used with abstract nouns.

3. **enim**: 'and I say this, for I shall not tolerate.' On this brachylogical use of *enim*, see note ch. 1, 20. **quatenus**: causal = *quoniam;* no instance of this use occurs in Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, or Vergil.

4. **societate**, etc.: on the thought, cp. T. *Hist.* II. 52, *nemo privatim expedito consilio inter multos societate culpae tutior; Ann.* XIV. 49, *plures numero tuti.* **patiar . . . nos**: with the change from the singular to the plural, cp. *Agr.* 43, *nobis nihil comperti ut adfirmare ausim; Hist.* IV. 5, *incidimus . . . repetam; Ann.* XIV. 43, *in nobis . . . existimabam.* So also Shakespeare, *Jul. Caes.*, 'If thou be'st not immortal, look about you.'

6. **eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam**: as *eloquentia* may designate both poetry (so ch. 4, 22; 10, 10) and elevated prose (ch. 23, 31), the adjectives *virilis* and *oratorius* are here added to distinguish the poetic eloquence of Maternus from what Aper regards as the only pursuit worthy of a man. Cp. ch. 8, 4; Cic. *de orat.* I. 54, 231, *illam orationem disertam sibi et oratoriam videri, fortem et virilem non videri.* **parere simul et tueri**: *simul et* is more frequently used in T. than the regular *simul ac*, which occurs chiefly in his earlier writings, e.g. l. 22 (below); *Agr.* 24; 35; *Germ.* 30; 34.

7. **complecti provincias**: sc. *patrocinio.* The insertion of this word would have destroyed the libration of clauses. A similar ellipsis is found *Agr.* 25, *amplecti civitates* (sc. *bello*).—The passage from *qua* (l. 6) to *potest* (l. 12) contains two climaxes, one asyndetic, the other polysyndetic; the last member of the second being, moreover, amplified to give the proper rhythmical finish, a favorite rhetorical device of T. Observe also that the *vel* clauses give the several headings which the speaker takes up in regular order in the following discussion. This artistic grouping is sufficient to prove that T. is not reproducing an improvised conversation, as alleged in the preface. Cp. note 1, ch. 28, 11; *Introd.* p. xxx.

10. urbis: subjective genitive, like *imperii* and *gentium* immediately following.

12. utilitatem vitae omnia consilia, etc.: *vitae* belongs to *consilia*. For similar utilitarian sentiments, cp. the account of the debate in the senate reported by T. *Ann.* XI. 5–7, e.g. *usui et rebus subsidium parari . . . nihil a quoquam expeti, nisi cuius fructus ante providerit.*

16. metum et terrorem: the same synonyms are grouped together in *Agr.* 32. A very similar passage is found in Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 7, 6, *dant cautelam periculis, morbis medellam, spem adflictis, opem miseris, solacium calamitatibus, laboribus levamentum*, with chiasmus at the close as here, and ch. 8 extr.; 10 extr.; 22 extr.; 36 extr.

17. ipse securus = *cum sis securus.* The use of an adjective (or substantive) for a subordinate clause is one of the most characteristic features of Tacitean style. In this treatise again, ch. 1, 13, *iuvenis* (= *cum i. essem*); 7, 1, *homo novus* (= *quamquam h. n.*); 27, 26, *mitior* (= *cum m. esses*). In *Agr.* (12 exx.), *Germ.* (6), *Hist.* (121), *Ann.* (183). **velut quadam**: *velut* belongs to *munitas.* Like *tamquam*, *quasi*, it is often used to apologize for a bold figure.

18. potentia ac potestate: *potentia*, or *vis* (e.g. ch. 19, 12), like δύναμις, designates power in general; *potestas*, ἐξουσία, official authority. This distinction is, however, not always rigidly observed.—Notice the alliteration. **vis et utilitas**: *beneficent power.* The nouns belong closely together, as indicated by the singular predicate, although it must be noted that in Latin generally the *singular* after two abstract nouns is the *rule.* T., however, prefers the singular when joined by *et* (only 2 certain exceptions out of 44 instances), but the plural, when joined by *atque* or *ac* (2 certain exceptions out of 18 examples),

19. rebus prospere fluentibus: a common figure. In T. again, *Ann.* XV. 5. **aliorum**: subjective genitive with *perfugio*, objective with *tutela.*

20. increpuit: danger is supposed to emit a noise of warning, as it approaches. A very bold figure, and without an exact parallel in extant Latin authors.

21. reo et periclitanti = *reo in periculo.* Translate: *to the accused in a court of law.*

23. pariter et: the regular *pariter ac* also occurs a few times in T.; e.g. ch. 39, 20; *Agr.* 11; *Germ.* 19. **sive in . . . vel in . . . sive apud**: the senate and the courts form one double group, the

emperor the other, as shown by the repetition and change of the prepositions. Had T. intended a mere enumeration, he would have written: *sive apud centumviros sive apud patres sive apud principem*, as in ch. 7, 5 ff. For a similar grouping, cp. note ch. 28, 7; *Ann.* XIV. 7, *sive servitia armaret vel militem accenderet sive ad senatum et populum pervaderet.*

The paragraph beginning with *quid est tutius* (l. 14) is evidently modelled upon Cic. *de orat.* I. 8, 32, *quid tam porro regium, tam liberale, tam munificum quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare adflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate? quid autem tam necessarium quam tenere semper arma quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel provocare integer vel te ulcisci lacessitus.* The divisions of the speech are also very nearly identical with those given by Cic. *l.c.* I. 41, 185 ff., in advocacy of the study of civil law.

24. **infestis patribus**: corresponds to *ardentibus patrum animis* in T.'s narrative of this identical encounter, in *Hist.* IV. 43.

25. **nuper**: i.e. 70 A.D. The reference is to the third and last attempt of Helvidius to crush his old enemy. **Eprius Marcellus**: a notorious informer under Nero, and one of the most powerful friends of Vespasian. Twice consul (61 and 74 A.D.), he, for reasons unknown to us, conspired against the emperor, and was driven to commit suicide (79 A.D.).

26. **accinctus et minax**: the *et* is epexegetic, *and in consequence.* Cp. ch. 6, 20; 7, 17; 9, 31; 20, 30; 33, 28; 36, 2; *Agr.* 1, 5; 5, 1; 6, 15; 43, 3. The self-same epithet is significantly applied three times to Marcellus by T. in *Hist.* IV. 6. 43; *Ann.* XVI. 29. **disertam quidem** = *disertam illam quidem.* Cp. note ch. 3, 27.

27. **inexercitatam**: common in Cicero, but not found elsewhere in T., who uses *inexpertus* instead.

28. **Helvidii**: *Helvidius Priscus*, quaestor under Nero; banished after the execution of his father-in-law, the famous Thrasea Paetus, he became praetor in the reign of Vespasian; but, owing to his contumacious conduct, he was eventually again expelled, and finally put to death (probably after 75). He was a Stoic, and, according to T., who devotes considerable attention to him, *e moribus soceri nihil aeque ac libertatem hausit . . . cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus* (*Hist.* IV. 5). His life was subsequently written by Herennius Senecio, for which the author was executed by Domitian. **sapientiam**, used in place of the Greek *philosophia*, which the purist T. seems to have avoided, wherever pos-

sible, for, outside of this early treatise, it occurs only *Agr.* 4, and *Hist.* III. 81. The same is true of *philosophi*, which is found only once in the later works, viz., *Ann.* XIII. 42, *qua sapientia quibus philosophorum placita*, where the preceding noun probably prevented the use of *sapientum*.

The character given to Marcellus, and the tribute paid to his eloquence, both here, and more fully ch. 8 and 13, 6 ff., are in perfect accord with the references to him in the historical works of T. On the significance of this coincidence, see *Introd.* p. xix. — Observe the remarkable accumulation of military phrases throughout this chapter (*armatus, praesidium, munitus, lorica, gladius, incessere, accinctus, inexercitatam, certaminum, elusit*). Cicero and Quintilian, but, above all, T., are extremely fond of this class of metaphors.

Page 5. Chapter 6. **2. uno aliquo**: *unus aliquis* serves as a kind of substitute for the singular of *singuli*, which was not in use.

4. libero et ingenuo: also joined by Cicero, but, as usual, in inverse order. See note ch. 4, 14.

5. plenam semper et frequentem: a similar pleonasm is found in Seneca, *de ira*, II. 8, 1, *frequentiae plena*. The adverb, as belonging to both adjectives, is, as usual, placed between them.

7. orbitati: legacy hunting was a notoriously common vice in Rome, and is frequently denounced by writers from Horace (*Sat.* II. 5, 28 ff.) down. Cp. T. *Hist.* I. 73, *potens pecunia et orbitate quae bonis malisque temporibus iuxta valent; Ann.* XIV. 40, *simul orbitate et pecunia insidiis obnoxius.* **officii**: *office*. In this sense the word is post-Augustan. Cp. *Agr.* 19, *officiis et administrationibus.* **non . . . alicuius**: *aliquis* with a negative or *sine*, in place of *quisquam* or *ullus*, is rare in T., e.g. ch. 10, 28; 37, 13, but quite common elsewhere, especially in Cicero. The *non* may here, however, be regarded as negativing only the substantive.

8. quin immo: postpositive, as in ch. 34, 13; 39, 12; *Germ.* 14. The anastrophe of conjunctions is still rare in the minor works of T. **orbos et locupletes et potentes**: observe the climax. Rich by reason of their childlessness, and powerful in consequence of their wealth.

11. tanta . . . quam: for the more usual *tanta . . . quanta*.

12. voluptas . . . spectare: an abstract substantive as the predicate of an infinitive is poetic, and rare in prose. Cp. Prop. I. 10, 3, *meminisse mihi iucunda voluptas;* Seneca, *de benef.* IV. 13, 2,

voluptas est dare beneficia. **veteres et senes**: cp. Terence, *Eun.* 688, *vietus, vetus, veternosus senex;* Tibullus, I. 8, 50, *veteres . . . senes.* On the fondness of both Greek and Romans for these tautological combinations, see note ch. 15, 21.

13. totius orbis = *t. o. terrarum.* Chiefly poetic and post-Augustan. Cp. Tac. *Agr.* 17; 30. The regular form, e.g. *Agr.* 31; *Germ.* 45; *Hist.* I. 4.

15. togatorum: i.e. the better classes as opposed to the common people, called *tunicatus* in ch. 7, 17.

17. consurgendi = *surgendi*, here of one individual. Cicero uses the compound only of a multitude. See note ch. 7, 18. **adsistendi**: used in its military sense of taking one's position in the ranks, ready for action. So again ch. 19, 8; 39, 16; = *auxilio adesse*, e.g. ch. 20, 25.

19. coram = *in conspectum* (sc. *oratoris*), according to its original meaning. Cp. Hor. *Sat.* I. 6, 56, *veni coram* (sc. *Maecenatis*). — The hearers crowd closely up to the speaker to catch every word, proximity making them the more easily susceptible to the emotions which the orator assumes. **adfectum**: *emotion, πάθος.*

20. induerit: the underlying figure is that of a dress which one can put on or off at pleasure. Cp. ch. 26, 20; *Ann.* IV. 12, *habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione . . . induebat.* — With the thought, cp. Hor. *A. P.* 101, *si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi;* Quint. VI. 2, 26, *summa . . . circa movendos adfectus in hoc posita est ut moveamur ipsi.* — The entire passage beginning with *iam vero* is again full of Ciceronian reminiscences. Cp. e.g. *de orat.* I. 8, 31, *quid enim est aut tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine hominum existere unum? Brut.* 49, 185, *ut ii qui audiunt ita afficiantur ut orator velit.* — For a similar eulogy of the lawyer's profession, see Iuv. VIII. 47 ff. **vulgata . . . illa secretiora**, etc.: both *vulgata* and *secretiora* are symmetrically amplified by explanatory clauses and joined paratactically, the adversative particle (*sed*) being omitted, an ellipsis extraordinarily frequent in T. In this treatise again, ch. 10, 31; 21, 22; 28, 15; 37, 27.

22. orantibus = *oratoribus*, only here, though *orare* is frequently used absolutely. **accuratus**: *elaborate*, not *accurate.*

23. meditatus: *well prepared.* In an active sense, ch. 10, 31. — Cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 60, 257, *accuratae et meditatae commentationes.* **profert**: sc. *orator*, the singular being supplied from the preceding plural (*orantibus*). **quoddam . . . constantia** = *sicut quoddam*

dictionis pondus est, ita quaedam gaudii constantia. The tendency to condensation is as yet scarcely noticeable in this Ciceronian period of T.'s style, but becomes increasingly marked, until it culminates in extreme succinctness of expression in the second part of the *Annals*, his latest work.

25. novam et recentem: these two synonyms are frequently combined. Cp. ch. 8, 24; *Hist.* IV. 65; Cic. *pro Flacco*, 6; *ad fam.* XI. 21, 2; but, as usual, in inverse order. Liv. XXXV. 10. **curam**: *oration.* See note ch. 3, 2. **non sine aliqua trepidatione**: this was especially true of Cicero, who tells us repeatedly that he never rose to speak without a touch of 'stage fright.' Cp. also Plut. *Cic.* 35, τῷ λέγειν μετὰ φόβου προσῄει.

26. adtulerit: this must be future perfect, for T. never uses the subjunctive with *sive . . . sive.*—*adferre* is the regular word for speeches prepared at home, as opposed to extemporaneous efforts. Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 26, 89, *nec ex tempore ficta sed domo adlata.* **sollicitudo commendat eventum**: T. here perfectly agrees with Cic. *de orat.* I. 26, 121, and with his teacher Quintilian (XII. 5, 4).—*Eventum* is, like *opinio*, *valetudo*, and Eng. *issue*, a so-called vox ambigua, designating either success or failure, according to the context, and hence often defined by an adjective, as in ch. 9, 13. Cp. Plin. *Epist.* V. 20, 2, *egi . . . non sine eventu: nam bene an male, liber indicabit.*

27. lenocinatur: *enhances the joy of success.* So again *Germ.* 43, *insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur* ('adds to'). In this weakened meaning the verb is post-Augustan. **extemporalis**: also post-Augustan, for *subitus*, *fortuitus*, *ex tempore.* Cp. ch. 10, 30.

28. vel praecipua iucunditas est: *praecipua*, when used predicatively has in T. usually the attributive position. It has the force of a superlative which justifies the addition of *vel.*

29. in ingenio . . . sicut in agro: the simile is a commonplace both in Greek and Latin; e.g. Plat. *Rep.* IX. 429 e; Cic. *de orat.* II. 30, 131, *subacto mihi ingenio opus est ut agro non semel arato sed iterato quo meliores fetus possit et grandiores edere*; *Orat.* 15, 48; *Hortens.* fragm. 10; and especially *Tusc. Disp.* II. 5, 13; Plut. *de sera num.* 522; *de vitioso.* 528.—The high praise here accorded to extemporaneous oratory renders it not improbable that the author himself possessed this accomplishment in a high degree. In later life he seems to have thought less favorably of it (*Ann.* IV. 61), as being of too transitory a character when compared to a carefully written speech.—The ancient rhetoricians, though they sincerely admire the

gift, invariably assign to it an inferior place. The whole subject is treated at length by Quin. X. 6, 6 ff. with his usual discernment and good sense. Cp. also Cic. *de orat.* I. 33, 150, *etsi utile est etiam subito saepe dicere, tamen illud utilius, sumpto spatio ad cogitandum paratius atque accuratius dicere.* Plutarch notes that Demosthenes never spoke off-hand.

Chapter 7. **32. laetiorem**: because the election of a *homo novus* to a curule office was a memorable event. — On the predicate adjective for the adverb, see note ch. 4, 16.

Page 6. **1. latus clavus oblatus**: the right to enter the Roman senate and to hold the curule offices was granted to Gaul in 48 A.D. by the emperor Claudius.

2. civitate minime favorabili natus: Gaul, the native state of Aper, Secundus, and probably of Maternus, is called *ill-favored*, because a 'homo novus' from the provinces had great obstacles to overcome in reaching high official positions in Rome. — The word *civitas* in post-Augustan Latin is very often used as a synonym of *urbs* or *oppidum*, but this meaning seems unsuitable to the present context, for, in the absence of all evidence, we have no right to assume that some Gallic towns offered special facilities for the political advancement of its inhabitants in the imperial city. — *Favorabilis*, here used in a passive sense, is a post-Augustan word.

3. eos: sc. *ago*, to be supplied from *egi* above. Such ellipses are common in T.; e.g. *Agr.* 2, *sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute* (sc. *sit, videmus*); *Germ.* 36, *qui olim boni . . . Cherusci* (sc. *vocati sunt*) *nunc . . . stulti vocantur*; 41, *quomodo paulo ante Rhenum* (sc. *secutus sum*), *sic nunc Danuvium sequar. Hist.* I. 37; II. 76.

4. mediocritate: also found *Ann.* XIV. 60. With the entire phrase, cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 25, 117, *illam ipsam, quamcunque adsequi potuerit, in dicendo mediocritatem.*

5. apud patres ff.: observe the libration of clauses, the last being amplified, as usual, for the sake of a sonorous finish (*libertos, procuratores . . . tueri, defendere*).

6. centumviros: the number of these judges was originally 105, and in T.'s time had been increased to 180, but the original name was retained by a natural conservatism. Only cases of minor importance came before this court. Cp. ch. 38, 21 ff.

7. libertos, et procuratores: freedmen, under the Empire, although not infrequently sprung from the lowest strata of society, were often the real power behind the throne. The *procuratores*, generally also *liberti*, were financial officers, and directly responsible to the emperor. Their opportunities for enriching themselves were great, and the good use made of them is notorious. In fact, Vespasian is said to have promoted them with the avowed object of subsequent conviction for misappropriation of public funds. They must, therefore, have had repeated occasion to enlist the eloquence of famous orators, and to plead their case before the emperor in person (hence *ipsum*) may well have been esteemed an honor.

8. tueri et defendere: the same synonyms are combined in *Germ.* 14, and frequently in Cicero. **datur**: the passive of *dare* with infinitive occurs again in the *Annals.*

9. consulatus: here added to mark the highest office in the '*cursus honorum*,' for, as we see from l. 3, Aper himself had at this time reached only the praetorship.

10. codicillis: *cabinet orders* or *letters patent.*

11. cum gratia venit: *comes with influence.* Cp. ch. 20, 10; *Ann.* XIV. 53, *quibus* (sc. *studiis*) *claritudo venit*; and so frequently elsewhere. **est**: on the singular, cp. note ch. 5, 18.

14. non solum . . . sed etiam: this complete form is comparatively rare in T. and always undivided. **vacuos**, as shown by its position, belongs to both nouns.

15. quorum = *qualium.* So again, *Ann.* II. 77.

16. nomina . . . ingerunt: *din into the ears.* Cp. the beautiful passage in Hor. *Sat.* I. 4, 120 ff.

17. et tunicatus hic populus: *tunicatus* opposed to *togatus* (ch. 6, 15). — *Vulgus*, *populus*, *plebs* are not infrequently grouped together by T. — *Hic* = *noster*, *Romanus*; an extremely common use of the pronoun. Cp. e.g. ch. 20, 7; 28, 15; 29, 20; 32, 27; 36, 24; *Agr.* 43, *vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus.* — The *et* is epexegetic, hence also the singular predicate. Cp. note ch. 5, 26 (p. 56).

18. digito demonstrat: to be pointed at with the finger was, barring a few exceptions, a sign of admiration among the ancients. The earliest occurrence of the phrase seems to be in Aesch. *Agam.* 1285, and Soph. *Oed. Rex.* 901. Thereafter it is very common, both in Greek and Latin writers. Cp. e.g. Hor. *C.* IV. 3, 22, *monstror digito praetereuntium*; Persius, I. 28, *at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est*; Tac. *Germ.* 31, *hostibus simul suisque monstrati.* So

also Goethe, *Faust*, 662, *The father points you out to his boy*, an evident classicism. — *demonstrare* = *monstrare*. Other instances of compound for simple verbs in this treatise occur in ch. 6, 17; 9, 2. 4; 10, 7; 17, 6; 22, 22; 37, 7 (p. 37); 38, 2. This fondness for superfluous compounds is characteristic of post-Augustan Latin, the force of the preposition being no longer or but vaguely felt. Cp. Seneca, *Epist.* 58, 3 f., *quaedam simplicia in usu erant, sicut 'cernere ferro' . . . quod nunc 'decernere' dicimus, simplicis illius verbi usus amissus est.* **advenae et peregrini**: the same synonyms are combined in Cicero, but, as usual, in inverse order. See note ch. 4, 14.

20. auditos = *auditu cognitos.* In this sense more frequent in T. than in other writers.

21. velut adgnoscere: *velut* is added, because these strangers had not previously seen the orators themselves, but hoped to *recognize* them from the description of others.

Chapter 8. **22. Marcellum**: see ch. 5, 25 ff.

23. Crispum Vibium: *Vibius Crispus* (on the transposition of the cognomen, cp. note ch. 1, 1), like Marcellus, with whom he is again associated by T. in *Hist.* IV. 42 f., a notorious informer, was born at Vercellae. He was three times consul, proconsul of Africa (68–71 A.D.), and died at the age of 80, about 92. Tacitus, *Hist.* II. 10, characterizes him as *pecunia, potentia, ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos*, in perfect agreement with ch. 8, 7 ff. Juvenal, IV. 94 (written some twenty years after Crispus' death) is more favorably disposed toward him. Regarding the power of his eloquence, there seems to have been no difference of opinion. When the *Dialogus* was written (in the reign of Titus), he was, like all informers, not in favor, but he regained his former power on the accession of Domitian.

24. oblitteratis: a word still very rare in pre-Augustan Latin. It is added to *remotis* for the sake of symmetry with *novis et recentibus*; on this collocation, see note ch. 6, 25.

25. minores: *inferior.* So e.g. ch. 21, 7; *Ann.* I. 13; XVI. 8, 20; and often in Quintilian.

26. ubi nati dicuntur: Aper does not wish to say that the birthplace of these famous orators was at all uncertain, for it was not, but simply that their world-wide renown made it a matter of indifference where their cradle stood. Cp. the celebrated remark of Thucyd. II. *43, 15* (Speech of Pericles), ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.

27. alterius bis, etc.: i.e. 200,000,000 sesterces (= $10,000,000) of Marcellus and 300,000,000 (= $15,000,000) of Crispus. The wealthiest Romans known to us were Cn. Lentulus (under Augustus), and Narcissus (under Nero), whose fortune was estimated at about $20,000,000.

28. quamquam, with the indicative occurs but 20 times, out of 80 instances in T., the subjunctive, beginning with Nepos and Vergil, gradually taking its place.

29. beneficio: *by reason of, on account of.* The word is here well on its way toward its later use as a synonym of *gratia* and *causa.* Although, says Aper, Marcellus and Crispus may be thought to have acquired their vast riches by virtue of their oratorical power, yet their world-wide fame was by no means due to their wealth, but solely to their eloquence. **numen et caelestis vis**: the personification is a very bold one, but typical of Aper's diction throughout. See note below, ll. 2 f. The same synonyms, but in inverse order, are repeatedly combined in Cicero. On the singular predicate (*edidit*), see note ch. 5, 18.

31. ad quam usque fortunam: *ad usque*, separated by a pronoun, is comparatively rare and post-Augustan usage. Cp. *Agr.* 14, *ad nostram usque memoriam.* — *Fortunam*, 'high position.'

32. ut supra dixi: one of the numerous passages in this treatise betraying the fictitious and literary character of the debate. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. Similar 'slips' are frequent in other dialogues; e.g. Plato, *Rep.* IV. 441 B, ὃ ἄνω ποι (= III. 390 D) ἐκεῖ εἴπομεν; *Phaedr.* 276 C; Cic. *de orat.* II. 75, 303, *Quid ? illud quod supra dixi.* By the use of a temporal adverb, like *modo*, *paulo ante*, the incongruity might have been avoided.

Page 7. **1. spectanda haberemus**: *habeo* with gerundive found its way into literary Latin at the beginning of our era, the construction occurring most frequently in T. and Pliny the Younger, though, curiously enough, never used by Quintilian. Thereafter it gradually yields to *habere* with the infinitive.

2. sordidius et abiectius nati: opposed to *liberaliter nati.* The comparatives, like *notabilior* below, are very rare, especially as adverbs. For the collocation, cp. T. *Ann.* XIII. 46, *nihil . . . nisi abiectum et sordidum traxisse*, and note ch. 35, 19. **quoque** = *et quo.* Cp. ch. 37, 5; Cic. *de off.* I. 2, 6; and so occasionally in other writers.

3. paupertas et angustia rerum: another bold personification, *paupertas* and *angustia* being negative ideas. — *Angustia* for the more usual plural. **nascentes circumsteterunt**: *stood about their cradle.* The metaphor implied in the verb is common in both Greek and Latin, but *nascentes*, in the sense called for by the context, seems not to occur elsewhere, though similarly bold uses of the participle are met with repeatedly in T. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* II. 35, *adfluentis provincias* ('the influx of the provinces').

4. oratoriae eloquentiae: see note ch. 5, 6.

6. natalium: *natales*, for *origo*, *genus* or *maiores*, is a post-Augustan word. Cp. T. *Ann.* XI. 21, *dedecus natalium* ('ignoble ancestry'). **sine substantia facultatum**: *without ample means of subsistence.* The identical expression occurs only here and in a writer of the fourth century, although analogous phrases, like *substantia rerum*, *patrimonii*, *bonorum*, *rei familiaris*, *opum*, are common enough. It is, perhaps, here used to individualize Aper's style. With the thought, cp. Iuv. VII. 145, *rara in tenui facundia panno.*

7. neuter moribus egregius: cp. T. *Hist.* II. 10 (cited in note ch. 8, 23); 95 *successere Mucianus et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores.* **alter . . . contemptus**: Juvenal's and Statius' references to Crispus render it probable that Marcellus is here meant.

8. multos iam annos: exaggeration is characteristic of Aper.

9. donec = *quamdiu*, with indicative. Very common in T., the subjunctive being found only in indirect discourse. **principes in Caesaris amicitia** = *p. amicorum C.* or *p. inter C. amicos*, a usage more frequent in T. than elsewhere. *Caesaris* = *principis*, to avoid the juxtaposition of the same word with different meanings. — *principes fori*, sc. *manentes*, *versantes.* On this ellipsis, cp. ch. 9, 14; 21, 18; *Agr.* 6, *famae propior;* and note ch. 5, 17.

10. agunt feruntque: *carry everything before them, rule supreme.* This phrase, common in both Greek and Latin, is generally applied to the devastation of an enemy's country. Here it is used figuratively, and the usual order reversed. Such variations are characteristic of T., who seeks thereby to add a touch of novelty to trite and stereotyped expressions. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* XIV. 38, *igni atque ferro*, for the regular *ferro ignique;* *Agr.* 46, *omnia facta dictaque.*

11. venerabilis senex: Vespasian was at the time (75 A.D.) 65 years old, having been born 9 A.D. **patientissimus veri**: this is confirmed by Sueton. *Vesp.* 13, *amicorum libertatem . . . lenissime tulit;* Eutropius VII. 13, *offensarum . . . inmemor fuit.* This eulogy

of Vespasian seems to be introduced by way of apology for openly characterizing his influential friends as the real power behind the throne, a criticism which even so mild-tempered a ruler might be liable to resent. Aper would doubtless have gladly subscribed to Seneca's dictum, *de ira* III. 36, *vide non tantum an verum sit quod dicis, sed an ille cui dicitur veri patiens sit.*

13. **amicos**: this was a quasi-official title given to men of senatorial or equestrian rank who constituted a kind of privy council and thus formed a very conspicuous feature of the imperial court; but their position, though one of great power and importance, was a very unstable one, being wholly subject to the whims of the emperor.

16. **quod . . . acceperint nec accipi possit**: *quod* is used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, serving at the same time as object to *acceperint* and subject to *accipi possit.* In T. again, *Germ.* 18, *quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referuntur; Ann.* II. 83, *quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas oblitteravit.* — The thought, virtually the same as ch. 7, 10 ff., seems to have been a commonplace; e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 85, 38, *ea sola* (sc. *virtus*) *neque datur dono neque accipitur;* and frequently in Seneca.

17. **minimum inter tot ac tanta locum**: *minimum = infimum* seems to be a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, the nearest approach to it being Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XIV. 1, 3, 19, *magnum obtinent locum.* — *Tot* as a neuter substantive is also not found elsewhere, but analogous instances are common in post-Augustan writers. Cp. ch. 19, 8; 21, 14; *Ann.* III. 15, *nullo* (= *nulla re*).

18. **imagines ac tituli et statuae**: as Aper is speaking of *novi homines* '*sine commendatione natalium,*' *imagines* cannot have its regular meaning 'images of ancestors,' but must rather refer to the metal busts of the emperor or his '*amici.*' — *Tituli* were the inscriptions on these, hence joined closely to *imagines* by *ac*, i.e. *imagines cum titulis et statuae.* Plin. *Paneg.* 103, is less careful to bring out this dependent relation, when he says *titulis et imaginibus et statuis.* — Maternus' answer (ch. 11, 24) seems to imply that this method of decorating one's house was often not so much a valued privilege as a kind of irksome duty by which the incumbent of an office gave outward expression to his loyalty. **neque** = *ne . . . quidem*, as frequently in T.

19. **divitiae et opes**: these words, though carefully distinguished by Cicero, are elsewhere also combined as synonyms. — *Divitiae* occurs in T. only here and in *Ann.* XVI. 3, where *opes* immediately precedes.

This whimsical aversion to the word, a kind of 'verbal taboo,' is not shared by any other writer. — With the thought cp. Seneca Rhetor, *Controversiae* II. 9, 18, *facilius possum paupertatem laudare quam ferre.*

21. igitur: as often, marks the close of an argument.

22. ineunte aetate: observe that this phrase does not signify 'from early childhood' but 'from early youth,' after the assumption of the *toga virilis*. *Ineunte adulescentia* also occurs, but more rarely. Both combined in Plautus, *Trinum.* 301, *ad hanc aetatem ab ineunte adulescentia;* 305, *ab ineunte aetate.*

23. dederunt = *dediderunt.* So again Tac. *Hist.* IV. 5, *ingenium . . . altioribus studiis iuvenis admodum dedit.* Cp. also Plin. *Epist.* V. 16, 8, *qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dediderit.* — Observe the *chiasmus* (*causis forensibus et oratorio studio*). It is particularly frequent at the close of an argument. Cp. ch. 9 ext.; 10, 9. 7 f.; 12 ext.; 13, 16 f.; 15, 27 f. 4 ff.; 19, 6 f.; 22 ext.; 23 ext.; 32, 30; 36 ext.; 37, 18.

Chapter 9. **24. nam**: i.e. nor can you rejoin, that poetry offers similar material and ideal advantages, for, etc. See note ch. 2, 14. **carmina et versus**: *versus* is added by way of emphasis to the more generic term. See note ch. 1, 15.

25. omnis fluxit oratio: the same phrase occurs in Cic. *Brut.* 55, 201.

26. utilitates alunt: *advance our material interests;* a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. Cp. Tac. *Hist.* II. 30, *utilitatem fovere;* IV. 18, *conatus . . . alunt.*

27. brevem, inanem: the adjective is made emphatic by being placed after its noun. So *vagum, inanes, volucre,* below.

28. licet: in a concessive clause only in three other passages of T., viz. ch. 13, 29; *Agr.* 32; and *Ann.* XIV. 55 (in a speech).

29. auris . . . respuant: *grate upon your ears.* Supply in thought some words like *dicam tamen.* The phrase itself occurs repeatedly, e.g. Cic. *pro Sulla*, 25, 70; *pro Plancio*, 18, 44; Quint. XI. 1, 61. Cp. the similar remark, ch. 27, 30.

30. cui bono: a legal formula of inquiry, touching the motive of the crime. It was a favorite phrase and perhaps the invention of L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, consul 127 B.C., celebrated for his impartiality and severity as a judge. **Agamemnon et Iason**: see note ch. 3, 29.

31. defensus: i.e. successfully defended. **et**: *and in consequence.* See note ch. 5, 26.

Page 8. **1. honorificentius**: the comparative of this word is very rare, though the superlative is common. **praeclarissimum vatem**: alluding, not without a tinge of irony, to Secundus' designation of Bassus as *absolutissimum poetam.* — *Praeclarissimum*, like *absolutissimum* (see note ch. 5, 29), is a double superlative, but the force of the preposition was doubtless no longer felt, as in many compounds in post-Augustan Latin. See note ch. 7, 18. — *Vates* was the ancient name for poet. With the Hellenization of Rome, the term seems to have fallen into contempt, making way for the Greek *poeta*, which the purist T. never uses, except in the *Dialogus*, where it could not well have been avoided. See also note ch. 5, 29. The word was restored to honor by Vergil, and thereafter retained more solemn associations, often designating, like προφήτης Μουσάων, the inspired singer or sacred bard, as opposed to *poeta*, 'the maker' or artist. The etymology of the word is doubtful; it is perhaps of Celtic origin and connected with Irish *fāith.* **deducit, salutat, prosequitur**: all more or less technical terms. *Deducere* is to escort the statesman or orator from his home to the forum or senate as a mark of honor (Gk. προπέμπειν); *prosequi*, the opposite of *deducere*, as in Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* XVIII. 1, 16, *prosecuti Favorinum in domum; salutare, to pay a visit*, usually early in the morning, one of the chief duties the client owed his patron. Cp. the answer of Maternus, ch. 11, 23.

2. nempe si: '*and if . . . he will, of course.*' Note the anaphora of *si.* So similarly Tac. *Germ.* 7 and Seneca, *Epist.* 37, *si . . . si . . . si . . . denique si.*

4. recurret: *will have recourse to.* Very rare in this sense for the regular *decurrere* or the simple *currere* (see note ch. 7, 18), *re* in composition having often merely an intensive force. Cp. T. *Germ.* 30, *plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu; Ann.* XIII. 57, *residentibus flammis;* XV. 73, *revictam coniurationem.*

5. non quia: for the more usual *non quod* takes the indicative, when a fact is admitted to be true, while its influence upon the ensuing result is denied. See note ch. 37, 29. **neque ut . . . facias**: we expect some such phrase as *sed ut pro eo causam agas.* The slight anacoluthon was occasioned by Aper's reluctance to allude, save by implication, to the contingency of a troublesome lawsuit, in which Secundus' friend might become involved as the defendant.

Hence also the euphemistic *negotium* ('trouble, difficulty') for *negotium forense*. **pro eo** = *pro se*. So similarly ch. 2, 18. Not elsewhere in the minor writings, but frequent in the other works of T., e.g. *Hist.* II. 9, *ut eum sisterent, orabat.*

6. domi nascuntur: a proverbial expressiòn used of things which need not be secured from others or at second-hand. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Acad.* II. 25, 80, *desine, quaeso, communibus locis; domi nobis ista nascuntur.* **pulchri quidem** = *p. illi quidem.* See note ch. 3, 27. **exitus est**: *the upshot of it is, that.* For a similar instance of temporal *cum* with indicative, see *Germ.* 24; *Ann.* III. 30, 54. **toto anno . . . parte**: note the descending climax. **excudit**: a metaphor taken from the metal-worker's or sculptor's art. Cp. Cic. *ad Att.* XV. 13, *excudam aliquid* Ἡρακλείδιον; Plin. *Epist.* I. 3, 4, *excude quod sit perpetuo tuum.*

9. elucubravit: the preposition *ex* in the compound denotes special mental effort. See note ch. 9, 24. The Romans seldom worked at night, and hence a departure from the rule is often emphasized. So e.g. Lucret. I. 140 ff., *sperata voluptas | suavis amicitiae quemvis sufferre laborem | suadet et inducit noctes vigilare serenas | . . . quo carmine demum | clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti;* Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 4, 11, *noctem addens operi.* The unusual labor therefore spent upon a poem by Bassus is thus strongly contrasted with the inadequate reward. **rogare ultro et ambire**: *rogare*, by letter; *ambire*, by oral request. — *ultro, into the bargain*, belongs to both verbs, as shown by its position. With the statement itself, cp. Plin. *Epist.* I. 13, 2 f., *lente cunctanterque veniunt . . . multo ante rogatus et identidem admonitus;* III. 18, 4, *hunc librum cum amicis recitare voluissem non per codicillos, non per libellos sed 'si commodum' et 'si valde vacaret' admoniti.*

11. domum mutuatur, etc.: see the very similar description in Iuv. VII. 38–47. The custom of recitations was introduced into Rome by Asinius Pollio, in the reign of Augùstus, and soon developed into a most characteristic feature of urban intellectual life. In spite of the abuses to which it led, such recitations were often the only, always an effective, means of bringing an author's works to the attention of the cultured public.

12. libellos: *programmes.* So Cic. *Phil.* II. 38, 97, *gladiatorum l. venditare.* **ut**: *even granted that.* So in *Ann.* IV. 33, 40. In this sense frequent in Cicero, but comparatively rare in later writers.

13. eventus: see note ch. 6, 26. **prosequatur** = *sequatur*. Cp. note ch. 7, 18.

14. unum aut alterum: *one or at best two*. When used with *aut* or *ve*, the phrase is restrictive; with *et*, *atque*, or *que*, it intensifies. Cp. ch. 21, 20; 29, 11; 39, 16. The same usage obtains in the other works of T. **diem**: sc. *manens*. On this ellipsis, cp. note ch. 8, 9. — Aper's view is evidently shared by Mr. Balfour, *Essays: 'Literary immortality is an unsubstantial fiction devised by literary artists for their own special consolation.'* **velut in herba**, etc.: an example of the so-called *comparatio compendiaria*, or abbreviated comparison, the figurative phrases here blending directly with the object compared. This brachylogy, exceedingly common in both Greek and Latin, is generally resorted to for the purpose of avoiding the awkward repetition of the same word or idea. In T. the construction is comparatively rare. E.g. ch. 14, 5; *Germ.* 46, 10; *Agr.* 12, 9; 24, 9; *Ann.* I. 13. This particular metaphor seems to have been proverbial. Cp. e.g. Cato *ap. Gell.* XIII. 18 (17), 1; Ov. *Heroid.* 16 (17), 263; Fronto, *Epist.* 1, 5. With the phrase, cp. T. *Hist.* V. 7, *sive herba tenus aut flore seu solidam in speciem adolevere.*

16. mansurum: this use of the fut. act. participle for an adjective or adjectival clause is poetic and post-Augustan, and very common in T., who seems, moreover, to have had a special fondness for this particular word. For exx. in this treatise, see ch. 10, 32; 22, 10; 34, 11.

17. vagum: *sporadic, capricious*. **voces inanes**: i.e. *meaningless*, because insincere, exclamations of approval on the part of the claque, as e.g. *belle, praeclare, pulchre, festive, effecte, graviter, euge, beate.*

18. volucre: *fleeting*. The uselessness of the pursuit of poetry as compared with that of the general or orator is discussed by Plutarch, *On the Glory of the Athenians*, ch. 5. **nuper**: probably to be here taken quite strictly, although Vespasian had been on the throne for five years. The word, like νεωστί, has, however, a very elastic signification. Thus, in *Germ.* 2, it refers back 150 years, *Hist.* IV. 17, to over 60, elsewhere in T. to not more than five years. In Lucret. V. 336, *nuper* points back fully 250 years. Cp. also Cic. *de nat. deor.* II. 50, 126, *nuper, id est paucis ante saeculis.*

19. Vespasiani liberalitatem: cp. Sueton. *Vesp.* 18 f., *Ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit . . . praestantes poetas . . . insigni congiario magnaque mercede donavit.* — The poverty of poets was proverbial. Cp. e.g. Ovid, *Trist.* IV. 10, 21, *studium quid inutile temptas?*

Maeonides nullas ipse reliquit opes; Petron. *Sat.* 83, *amor ingenii neminem* (sc. poetam) *umquam divitem fecit.* **quingenta sestertia**: 500,000 sesterces = c. $25,000.

20. quod donasset: relating to the comments made at the time by Aper and others, hence the subjunctive. So *Hist.* II. 75, *apud bonos invidiae fuit quod . . . fecisset.*

21. mereri = *consequi, obtain;* extremely common in T.

22. si ita res familiaris exigat: the identical phrase occurs in Quint. XII. 7, 9. **se ipsum colere**: *se* is the object, *ipsum* the subject. Bassus should advance his own material fortune by a more lucrative pursuit than poetry, so as to render himself independent. Cp. Lessing's *corriger la fortune.*

23. genium propitiare: here used in the sense of *genio indulgere* (Persius V. 151, *indulge genio, carpamus dulcia*), to enjoy the good things of life. — With the thought, cp. Sen. *Epist.* 15, 10, *quam iucundum sit nihil poscere, quam magnificum sit plenum esse nec ex fortuna pendere;* and Shakespeare, *Henry VIII.: How wretched is that poor man that hangs on princes' favors.* **adice quod**: like *adde quod*, formed on the analogy of *accedit quod*, does not occur elsewhere in T., but is specially frequent in Seneca.

24. elaborare et efficere: the same synonyms are combined in Cicero. — The *ex* in composition adds an intellectual element to the original meaning. Cp. *discere* and *ediscere; loquentia* and *eloquentia.* See note ch. 9, 9. **conversatio** is a post-Augustan word. In T. again, *Germ.* 40; *Ann.* XII. 49. Cicero says *sermo familiaris.* This love of the city is shared also by Cicero. Cp. *ad fam.* II. 12, 2, *urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole et in ista luce vive.*

27. nemora et lucos, etc.: a poetic commonplace, as old as Hesiod, and especially affected by the Alexandrians, whence it passed into Roman poetry. Cp. e.g. Hor. *Epist.* II. 2, 77, *scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbes;* Ovid, *Trist.* I. 1, 41, *carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt.* The identical collocation is also common; in T. alone three times (*Germ.* 9. 12. 45). On the alleged allusion of Pliny to this passage, see *Introd.* p. vi.

Chapter 10. **28. opinio et fama**: *opinio* derives its precise meaning from the context; here 'good opinion in the eyes of others, reputation.' Cp. note ch. 6, 26. — The two synonyms are often combined. On the singular predicate, see note ch. 5, 18. **cui soli serviant**: illustrations are particularly abundant in Ovid, e.g. *A. A.*

III. 404, *quid petitur sacris nisi tantum fama poetis Hoc votum nostri summa laboris habet.* Cp. also T. *Hist.* IV. 6, *etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur.*

30. aeque poetas quam oratores sequitur: in his eagerness to bring his arguments home, Aper becomes guilty of a palpable overstatement which Maternus in his answer (ch. 12, 10 ff.) has no difficulty in refuting. — *Aeque quam*, for the regular *aeque ac*, which occurs but once in T., is not found in prose before Livy, but occasionally in early poetry. **mediocres poetas**, etc.: with this sentiment, cp. Hor. *A. P.* 372, *mediocribus esse poetis Non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.* It is in such epigrammatic antitheses that we detect the T. of the historical works. Cp. e.g. ch. 8, 20; 18, 3; 21, 13; 23, 9; 40 ext.

31. rarissimarum: *most extraordinary.*

Page 9. **1. quotus quisque**: *how few.* So always in T. e.g. ch. 21, 21; 26, 17; 29, 23; *Ann.* I. 3; VI. 9.

2. Asia: designates, as *Hispania* shows, the Roman province, Asia Minor, which latter term does not occur till the fourth century. **Gallis nostris**: see *Introd.* p. xxv.

4. adeo: *in truth;* ch. 14, 30, *on the contrary;* 3, 3, *so little;* more commonly = *tam, ita.* All these meanings may be paralleled in the other works of T. **ut semel vidit**, etc.: a highly significant utterance in the mouth of a Roman, whose appreciation of works of art at no time advanced beyond the passing curiosity of a dilettante. The Romans themselves were well aware of this national characteristic (Cic. *in Verr.* II. 2, 35, 87), but they professed to believe that any serious attention to such matters was incompatible with their mission in history (see the memorable lines in Verg. *Aen.* VI. 847 ff.), or else they pleaded the lack of requisite leisure enjoyed to so high a degree by the Greek (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI. 4, 8, 27). Seneca will not even recognize sculpture and painting as *liberales artes.* Cp. also Cic. *ad fam.* V. 12, 7, *unus Xenophontis libellus in eo rege* (sc. *Agesilaus*), *laudando facile omnes imagines, omniumque statuas superavit; pro lege Man.* 14, 40, *signa et tabulas . . . quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille* (sc. *Pompeius*) *ne visenda quidem existimavit.*

7. natura . . . denegavit: *to whom their natural endowment has denied oratorical talent.* The same phrase in T. *Ann.* XV. 42. — The passage was probably modelled upon Cic. *de orat.* I. 25, 117, *neque haec in eam sententiam disputo, ut homines adulescentes,*

si quid naturale forte non habeant, omnino a dicendi studio deterream.

9. nomen inserere famae: a bold figure, but paralleled by T. *Hist.* II. 61, *inserere se fortunae; Ann.* VI. 2, *ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit.*

10. vero: *of course, to be sure.* **eloquentiam**: *literary composition.* Cp. note ch. 5, 6. **sacras**: as a synonym of *venerabilis,* is poetic and post-Augustan. The same collocation in Sen. *Epist.* 14, 11; 55, 4.

11. cothurnum: a common metonymy for *tragedy;* here more particularly of the elevated and dignified style appropriate to it. **vestrum** = *tuum.* Comparatively rare till late Latin. Cp. Catull. 39, 20, *vester expolitior dens est;* 99, 6, *tantillum vestrae demere saevitiae;* Verg. *Aen.* X. 188, *crimen, Amor, vestrum;* Plin. *Ep. ad Trai.* 3, 1, *indulgentia vestra;* but *noster, nos,* for *meus, ego* is common in all periods of the language.

12. heroici carminis sonum: *the lofty tone of epic song.* Cic. *de opt. gen.* 1, 1 (*de carminum generibus*), *suus est cuique certus sonus et . . . vox.* **lyricorum iucunditatem**: *iucundus, suavis,* like τερπνός, γλυκύς, are standing epithets of lyric poetry.

13. elegorum lascivias: *lascivus* is frequently applied to elegiac poets, such as Propertius and Ovid. Cp. also Mart. III. 20, 6, *lascivus elegis.* The noun (the plural is post-Augustan, and in T. again *Ann.* XI. 36) is used only in a good sense in Cicero. **iamborum amaritudinem**: cp. Hor. *A. P.* 79, *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo;* Diomedes III. 485, *iambus est carmen maledicum;* and so in Greek, ἰαμβίζειν = *to satirize.* **epigrammatum lusus**: cp. Mart. IV. 49, 1 f., *Nescit, crede mihi, quid sint epigrammata, Flacce | qui tantum lusus illa iocosque vocat.*

14. quamcunque aliam: e.g. comedy, satire, history. — Polysyndetic *et* in T. again ch. 25, 24; 37, 28; *Agr.* 37; *Germ.* 40; *Hist.* IV. 53. Thereafter it disappears entirely, an asyndeton or variations with *ac* and *-que* taking its place.

15. ceteris aliarum: such pleonasms are common in Greek and Latin, and often used for rhetorical or euphonic reasons.

17. in arcem: *up towards;* see note ch. 13, 15. The metaphorical use of *arx* is frequent in Greek and Latin literature. **errare**: *wander aimlessly.* Cp. ch. 36, 1; 40, 19; and esp. Lucret. II. 10, *alios passimque videre | errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae.*

18. levioribus subsistis: by the use of *levioribus* for *inferiori-*

bus, the figure is partly abandoned, as in ch. 28, 16; 32, 2 f. — With the thought cp. Quint. I. prooem. 20, *est certe aliquid consummata eloquentia . . . altius tamen ibunt qui ad summa nitentur quam qui . . . circa ima substiterint;* and Wordsworth (to Rev. Alex. Dyce): *Unluckily, he* [Pope] *took the plain, when the heights were within his reach.* **ut, si esses**: *as if, by way of example.* Usually = *quasi*, as in ch. 10, 5. **ludicras . . . artis**: here, as in *Ann.* XIV. 16, opposed to *artes honestae;* more commonly the phrase refers to the drama.

20. honestum est: cp. Nepos, *Preface: Magnis in laudibus tota fuit Graecia victorem Olympiae citari. In scaenam vero prodire . . . nemini in isdem gentibus fuit turpitudini, quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur;* and similarly *Epam.* 1; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* I. 2, 4; T. *Ann.* XIV. 14 ff. **Nicostrati**: a celebrated athlete who, in 50 A.D., carried off the victory in both the παγκράτιον and in wrestling in one day, being the seventh to accomplish this feat since the foundation of the Olympian games in 776 B.C. **robur ac vires**: *mighty strength.* Hendiadys. The same collocation occurs in *Hist.* I. 87; II. 11. **ac . . . ac**: joining a sentence and two nouns respectively is found in ch. 41, 21 f., a stylistically similar passage.

21. pugnam: i.e. in the arena.

22. levitate iaculi, etc.: of the five contests of the πένταθλον, viz. "ἅλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην," only the last three call for '*vires lacertorum*,' and of these again the πάλη alone was classed among the severe contests. As these easier exercises are not fit for the sturdy arms of a Nicostratus, so Maternus, whom nature has designed for the severer exertions of the forum, is implored not to waste his intellectual strength upon *artes leviores*, such as poetry, lest they incapacitate him for the higher calling of the orator. **vanescere**: for the more common *evanescere*, is poetic and post-Augustan, and especially frequent in T. — On the gradual decay of powers, if neglected, cp. the discussion in Plutarch, *An seni*, ch. 16 (p. 792 A—D).

23. ab auditoriis et theatris, etc.: new plays were no longer performed in Rome in the days of Vespasian, the tragedies of Maternus, like those of Seneca, being book dramas which the author recited before an invited audience, previous to their publication. The fictitious encounters, enacted in recitation halls, are here contrasted with the real contests of the orator in the forum.

25. plerisque: *many.* See note ch. 2, 11. **patrocinari**: a

legal term, and chiefly post-Augustan. It is not yet found in Cicero, and in T. only here.

28. aliquo after a negative, as in ch. 6, 2, where see note. **periculosius**: cp. ch. 3, 27 f.

29. necessitudine = *necessitate*, a confusion especially frequent in Cicero and T.

30. fortuitae et subitae: the classical equivalent for the later *extemporalis*. See note ch. 6, 27. The same collocation, though with different meaning, in *Germ.* 11.

31. meditatus: rarely, as here, used in an absolute and active sense. So e.g. in Cic. *de leg.* I. 4, 12; *de orat.* II. 80, 325; Seneca, *Epist.* 20, 12. — On the omission of the adversative particle (*sed*), see note ch. 6, 21. **elegisse**: one of the many words whose history illustrates the genetic development in the style of T. Used exclusively in the minor writings, except *Germ.* 6, it receives a companion in *deligere* in the *Histories* (*eligere* 29 times; *deligere* 20 times). In the *Annals*, finally, *eligere* occurs but twice, *deligere* 92 times.

32. dicturam: future act. part. = adj. See note ch. 9, 16. — With the thought, cp. Quint. VIII. 5, 8, *magis sententia decet eos in quibus est auctoritas, ut rei pondus etiam persona confirmet.*

Page 10. **1. quid responderi possit**, etc.: the verb governing the *oratio obliqua* must be supplied from the context, for *responderi* has already been preëmpted by *quid*. This ellipsis is peculiarly characteristic of Tacitean style. Cp. e.g. ch. 18, 16; 30, 15; *Hist.* V. 5, *Iudaei . . . numen intellegunt, profanos*, etc.; *Ann.* I. 67, *contractos . . . monet: unam in armis salutem.* **hinc**: after *hinc*, in its causal sense, T. invariably omits the substantive verb (*esse, nasci, oriri*). — The passage itself furnishes an example of the rhetorical figure πρόληψις, anticipation.

2. omnium . . . ferri: *are soon in everybody's mouth.*

3. Tolle igitur: that is very true, says Aper, but such notoriety is incompatible with that love of quiet and freedom from molestation for which poets yearn. **quietis et securitatis**: *securitas* (*securus*) here, and *Hist.* I. 3, IV. 48, is used in its earlier sense of *freedom from care*, but in post-Augustan writers it generally denotes *safety, freedom from danger.* Perhaps *quies* was added to avoid a possible ambiguity, although the two words are elsewhere combined as synonyms; e.g. Liv. 38, 1; Plin. *Epist.* VI. 8, 2; and ch. 13, 30, where the collocation seems to take the place of a cross-reference to this passage.

4. adversarium superiorem : namely, the emperor.

7. probata sit fides et libertas excusata : for the chiasmus at the close of an argument, see note ch. 8, 23 (p. 66), and with the thought, cp. *Agr.* 3, *liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.*

Chapters 11–13. Maternus, taking up Aper's arguments against the pursuit of poetry in regular order, points out that the alleged uselessness of poetry was not exemplified in his case, and that the external triumphs of the orator were not of a nature to induce him to alter his resolution to bid farewell to forensic activity (— ch. 11). A contemplative life, on the other hand, instils a lasting joy, while the devotees of poetry, which eloquence itself used as its earliest vehicle of expression, were ever more highly honored than the most renowned orator (— ch. 12). The anxieties and tribulations, finally, inseparable from an orator's career, when compared to the tranquil freedom vouchsafed to the disciple of the Muses, more than ever justify, the speaker maintains, his determination to pass the rest of his days under their benign protection.

Chapter 11. **9. quae cum**: so again, ch. 24, 21. In the historical writings *cum*, in these phrases, is supplanted by *ubi*. **acrius, ut solebat**, etc.: *acrius*, *earnestly*, opposed to *remissus*, pertains to the manner; *intento ore*, opposed to *subridens*, *with something of a smile*, to the speaker's facial expression. — *Ut solebat*, sc. *dicere*, is a common ellipsis in T. Cp. note ch. 5, 24.

11. non minus diu: *at no less length, in an equally long speech.* In this sense again, e.g. ch. 25, 9; *Ann.* VI. 27.

12. laudaverat: the pluperfect in reference to the time implied in *parantem*.

14. concedendo: the modal ablative of the gerund is extremely frequent in T., e.g. ch. 33, 4; *Agr.* 20; *Germ.* 22; *Hist.* I. 24; *Ann.* I. 10. — This introductory paragraph is clearly modelled upon Cic. *de orat.* I. 17, 74, *Tum ridens Scaevola 'non luctabor tecum,' inquit, 'Crasse, amplius; id enim ipsum, quod contra me locutus es, artificio quodam es consecutus, ut et mihi, quae ego vellem non esse oratoris, concederes.'*

16. sicut . . . ita = *quamquam . . . tamen;* so again ch. 37, 19; *Agr.* 44; *Hist.* I. 52; V. 7. The pleonastic *sicut* = *ut*, is found, ch. 6, 24; *Agr.* 2; *Germ.* 45; *Hist.* III. 51; *Ann.* XIII. 55. **efficere**

aliquid et eniti: the same collocation occurs three times in Cicero, but in inverse order, on which see note on ch. 4, 14. On the force of the preposition, see ch. 9, 9. 24.

18. ingredi famam auspicatus sum: pleonasm is perhaps nowhere more frequent in Latin than in phrases containing the idea of *beginning*. In T. e.g. *Germ.* 18; 30; *Hist.* I. 39; *Ann.* I. 31; XV. 41. — The infinitive with *auspicari* is rare. **in Neronem**, etc.: *I crushed Vatinius' baneful power over Nero, by which even the sanctity of literature was desecrated.* The freedom of Latin word order gives to this clause a conciseness inimitable in English. The construction is, however, supported by numerous parallels, e.g. Cic. *de rep.* II. 27, 49, *in populos perpetuam potentiam*, III. 15 (14), 23, *in populum vitae necisque potestatem habent;* Tac. *Hist.* II. 49, *atrocissima in Verginium vi; Ann.* I. 33, *in Germanicum favor* (sc. *populi Romani*); 77, *ius virgarum in histriones;* IV. 11, *ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris.* — The reference is to some Greek tragedy in which Vatinius was covertly, but unmistakably, attacked in the person of some character in the play. Cp. note ch. 3, 31. 9.

19. sacra: in the same sense in T. *Ann.* I. 42; II. 65; Quint. X. 1, 92, *sacra litterarum;* with *profanare* also, Ovid, *Am.* III. 9, 19; *Petron.* 89. — The use of a neut. plur. adj. (usually with a genitive, as here), in place of an abstract noun, is very characteristic of Tacitean style. **et . . . quoque**: see note ch. 6, 20. **Vatinii**: one of the most notorious favorites of Nero, whom T., in *Ann.* XV. 34, has stigmatized in burning language.

20. in nobis: as in *Hist.* IV. 11, *in victoribus auctoritas; Ann.* XIV. 43, *hoc in nobis auctoritatis est.* The dative is the more usual construction. **notitia** = *fama*, not found in the other works of T., is rare and chiefly poetic. — The same alliterative collocation occurs, ch. 36, 12.

21. partum: sc. *esse*. See note ch. 2, 14.

22. deiungere: *unyoke*. A very rare word (Inscript. Grut. 1003 *iuncto deiuncto iumento*, and perhaps Varro, *de ling. Lat.* X. 3, 45), in place of 'disiungo' or 'diiungo,' and in a figurative sense only here. — The metaphor is highly expressive and well suited to the style of the poet Maternus. With the thought, cp. Cic. *ad fam.* I. 9, 23, *ab orationibus diiungo me referoque ad mansuetiores Musas.* **comitatus**, etc.: a direct reference to Aper's words in ch. 9, 1.

24. aera et imagines = *bronze medallions.* Hendiadys. See note ch. 8, 18.

25. nolente: the participle of *nolo*, generally in the ablative, is post-Augustan usage. **in domum . . . inruperunt**: this verb, in the sense of 'to force an entrance into,' elsewhere in T. invariably takes the accusative and so occasionally in pre-Augustan Latin. Cicero, however, never omits the preposition, and it is this usage which the young T. and his teacher Quintilian follow. — The sentiment seems to be Epicurean: *στέφανοι καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσεις ἐπιθυμίαι οὔτε φυσικαὶ οὔτε ἀναγκαῖαι.* **statum**, etc.: the entire passage is an answer to Aper's general inquiry in ch. 5, *quid est tutius*, etc. No doubt, says Maternus, eloquence is an admirable defensive weapon, but it is far preferable not to be called upon to use it, a contingency which the speaker, relying upon his integrity, regards as remote. Cp. Cic. *Hortens.* fragm. 66, *sufficere ad gloriam bene facti conscientiam.* That this cheerful view was somewhat too optimistic is clear from ch. 2, 2. 23 ff. and *Ann.* III. 67, *multa adgerebantur etiam insontibus periculosa.*

28. alterius discrimine: i.e. not, like Eprius Marcellus, for example, compelled to plead in his own behalf. — *Discrimen*, in its legal sense, is frequent in T.

Chapter 12. **29. secretum**: *retirement.* **increpabat**: viz. in ch. 9, 25 ff. It is a favorite word of the author. For a different, intransitive, sense, see ch. 5, 20.

Page 11. **2. in strepitu**: sc. *urbis*, as shown by *ostium*. — This is said in answer to Aper, who had spoken of the *iucunditas urbis* (ch. 9, 25, p. 8), ignoring the serious drawbacks of city life for him who delights in quiet. **sedente ante ostium litigatore**: cp. Cic. *pro Mur.* 9, 22, *vigilas tu de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas;* Hor. *Sat.* I. 1, 9, *sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat; Epist.* I. 5, 31, *atria servantem postico falle clientem.* **non . . . nec . . . nec . . . sed**: an exceedingly common correlation in T.

3. sordes atque lacrimas: the same collocation, in inverse order (see note ch. 4, 14), occurs twice in Cicero. **sed secedit**, etc.: this sentence ought logically to have been incorporated in the preceding (*non in strepitu . . . reorum, sed in locis puris . . . sedibusque sacris componuntur*), but the importance which the poet attaches to sylvan retirement, as best conducive to poetic contemplation, caused him to add the idea in an independent clause. — For a similar eulogy, cp. Vida († 1566), *de arte poetica* I. 486 ff., *amoena silentis Accedat loca ruris . . . Hic laeti haud magnis opibus, non divite cultu Vitam*

agitant vates . . . Dulcis et alma quies ac paucis nota voluptas. Quintilian, it is curious to observe, seems to go out of his way to combat this view (X. 3, 22–33).

5. haec . . . haec . . . hoc . . . sic: the slight anacoluthon just pointed out has also caused *haec* to be joined to *sedes* as its antecedent, whereas, in reality, it refers to the act of poetic composition implied in the *componuntur*-clause, i.e. poetry composed amid the seclusion of hallowed places was the earliest form which eloquence assumed. — The statement here made was a topic of considerable discussion in antiquity. The same view was held by Plato, Dicaearchus, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Plutarch, and is universally accepted in modern times; Epicurus, on the other hand, Lucretius, Cicero, Quintilian, Aristides and the rhetoricians generally, maintained the chronological priority of prose.

6. commoda: i.e. accommodating herself to the understanding of primitive man. With this meaning of the word, cp. Ter. *Heaut.* III. 2, 10 (vs. 521), *c. mulier;* Hor. *Carm.* IV. 8, 1, *c. sodalibus.*

7. et nullis contacta vitiis pectora: *et* before negatives, like *nullus*, *nemo*, *nihil*, is more frequent in T. than in any previous writer. — For the peculiar order of the words, known as *synchysis*, cp. e.g. ch. 31, 30; T. *Ann.* I. 10, *simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium;* III. 30, *fato potentiae raro sempiternae;* Cic. *de orat.* I. 7, 27, *illa superioris tristitia sermonis;* Sen. *ad Polyb.* 18, 2, *aliquo scriptorum monimento tuorum.* It is a striking characteristic of the style of Lucan. **sic oracula loquebantur**: the statement is not strictly accurate, for originally the Pythian oracles were delivered in prose. They had generally ceased to be composed in verse in Cicero's day, and wholly so when Plutarch wrote his interesting essay on this subject (1st cent. A.D.).

8. nam: i.e. these good old times no longer exist, for. See note ch. 2, 14. **lucrosae**: the profession of law was a very lucrative one during the Empire, the ancient *lex Cincia de donis et muneribus* (204 B.C.), which forbade fees for legal services, having become a dead letter. It was finally repealed by Claudius (hence *recens* below), who fixed 10,000 sesterces as the limit for any one case. **huius**: *now in vogue, of our time.* Usually some noun, as *tempus*, *aetas*, or *saeculum* is added. **sanguinantis**: *blood-stained.* So called, because of the many executions of conspicuous orators during the Empire. In its figurative sense, the word occurs only here.

9. recens: here used predicatively, the copula being omitted, an

ellipsis more frequent in the speeches of the poet Maternus than in those of the other interlocutors.

10. ut tu dicebas: viz. ch. 5, 22. **teli**: the same figure in *Ann.* XVI. 27, *quod velut telum arripuere accusatores.* — With the sentiment of the entire passage, cp. T. *Ann.* XI. 5 f., *alioquin et bonarum artium principem* (sc. *eloquentiam*) *sordidis ministeriis foedari, ne fidem quidem integram manere, ubi magnitudo quaestuum spectetur . . . nunc inimicitias, accusationes, odia et iniurias foveri et quomodo vis morborum pretia medentibus, sic fori tabes pecuniam advocatis ferat.* **ceterum**: *on the other hand.* In this adversative sense the word is particularly common in T.

11. felix . . . saeculum: this phrase is instanced by Quintilian as a figure sanctioned by usage. **more nostro**: i.e. *more poetarum.* — Cp. e.g. the description of the golden age in Hesiod, *Opera*, 109 ff.; Tib. I. 3, 35 ff.; Verg. *Georg.* II. 536 ff.; *Aen.* VIII. 319 ff.; Ovid, *Metam.* I. 89 ff.; Iuv. VI. 1 ff.

12. criminum = *scelus, crime,* as shown by *male admissa.* So repeatedly in T., but extremely rare in pre-Augustan Latin. **poetis et vatibus abundabat**: the same statement is made by Plutarch in the essay referred to above, l. 7. — On *poeta* and *vates*, see note ch. 9, 1.

13. male admissa: *admissum* as a noun is rare, e.g. T. *Hist.* IV. 4; *Ann.* XI. 4. The word is always used in a bad sense, hence *male* is, strictly speaking, superfluous. It was, however, added for the sake of symmetry with *bene facta.* That the original verbal character of these substantived participles is not altogether lost sight of, is shown by their *adverbial* modifiers. — On the thought, cp. ch. 41, 6 ff.; *Ann.* III. 26, *vetustissimi mortalium nulla adhuc libidine, sine probo, eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant . . . ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur.*

14. ullis: takes the place of the plural of *quisquam*, which does not occur in Latin. As a substantive, *ulli* is, however, very rare in prose. In T. only here and *Ann.* XI. 27. — Observe the chiasmus.

15. apud deos: cp. Theocr. XVI. 19, *θεοὶ τιμῶσιν ἀοιδούς.* **proferre responsa**: cp. Theocr. XVI. 29, Μουσάων . . . τίειν ἱεροὺς ὑποφήτας; and Hor. *A. P.* 391, *sacer interpresque deorum . . . Orpheus.*

16. interesse epulis: illustrious men of the heroic age, as e.g. Hercules, Tantalus, Nestor, and the Phaeacians, were supposed to have been thus honored, the gods during the Golden Age associating with mortals on terms of equality, but that *poets* enjoyed their hospitality is not elsewhere recorded. Cp., however, Vida, *de arte poet.* I. 557,

Tu Iovis ambrosiis das nos (sc. poetas) *accumbere mensis;* Schiller, *The Partition of Earth: But if thou* [the poet] *wilt with me* [Zeus] *in heaven dwell, Whene'er thou com'st it shall be open to thee.* **deinde**: in the minor writings only this full form occurs; in the *Histories*, *dein* has a slight lead, but in the *Annals* it greatly preponderates.

17. deis genitos sacrosque reges: these are standing epithets of kings. Cp. the Homeric διοτρεφέες, θεῖοι, ἐκ Διὸς βασιλῆες; the Pindaric ἱεροὶ β., and T. *Ann.* II. 65, *sacra regni.* — With the statement itself, cp. Ovid, *A. A.* III. 405 ff., *cura deum fuerant olim regumque poetae . . . Sanctaque maiestas et erat venerabile nomen*; Schiller, *Maid of Orleans; Therefore the bard shall with the monarch go, for both dwell on humanity's heights.* **inter quos**: *in whose company.* So Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 28, 76. **neminem**: *nemo* as an adjective (in T. again, *Ann.* XV. 16) is, except in very late Latin, used only with personal nouns, such as *civis*, *homo*, and the like, and is then generally separated from its substantive (esp. in Cicero) by an intervening word.

18. Orphea ac Linum: these mythical bards, often mentioned together, as well as Olen, Philammon, and the Homeric Demodocus and Phemios, are invariably associated with Apollo as the god of song and music, but he is nowhere else represented as having been a poet himself. **introspicere altius**: note the emphatic position of the adverb, — *if you will search still farther back.*

19. accepimus: sc. *fuisse.* A very common ellipsis with this verb, when used in the sense which it has here. Cp. e.g. ch. 40, 12; *Hist.* III. 46; *Ann.* XVI. 14. **fabulosa nimis et composita**: such qualifying phrases are peculiarly characteristic of T. Cp. *Agr.* 40, *sive verum istud sive ex ingenio principis fictum et compositum; Hist.* III. 78, *alii ficta haec et . . . composita; Ann.* XI. 27, *fabulosum visum iri . . . sed nihil compositum . . . tradam.* — The adverb, as shown by its position, belongs to both adjectives.

20. concedes: here and ch. 33, 12; *Hist.* II. 37; V. 7, with the acc. c. inf. In ch. 11, 14; 21, 3, with *ut.*

21. honorem minorem: an instance of ὁμοιόπτωτον, as ch. 21, 14 (p. 20), *proprioribus temporibus;* 28, 7, *militarem rem;* 29, 12, *serio ministerio.* See also note ch. 14, 12.

24. Ciceronis gloriam: cp. ch. 18, 6. Of these Cicero himself mentions Calvus, T. (*l.c.*), Brutus. After Cicero's death, Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio, composed a *Comparatio patris et*

Ciceronis, to the great disparagement of the latter, and the rhetorician Largius Licinius received the nickname 'Ciceromastix' for his adverse criticism of the orator. Quintilian (XII. 10, 12 ff.) repels all these attacks with an almost pathetic fervor. **Vergilii detrectent**: cp. Donatus, *Vita Verg.* p. 65, *Obtrectatores Vergilio numquam defuerunt.* We learn of parodies of one Carbilius Pictor, surnamed Aeneomastix, of another, styled Vergiliomastix. Other detractors were Herennius, Perellius Faustus, Q. Octavius Avitus, and the contemporary poets Baebius and Massa, Vergil's indebtedness to Homer, Ennius, and others being one of their chief objects of attack. *Cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere* is said to have been the poet's reply.

25. Asinii aut Messallae: *C. Asinius Pollio* (born 76 B.C., consul 40, triumphed over the Parthini, 39, died c. 5 A.D.); *M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus* (born c. 59 B.C., consul 31, triumphed over the Gauls 27, died 13 A.D.); both distinguished as statesmen, generals, poets, historians, orators, and patrons of literature, and repeatedly mentioned together; e.g. ch. 17. 20; *Ann.* IV. 34; XI. 6. 7. They are here introduced as orators, partly by way of contrast with Lysias and Hyperides, partly because in the judgments of later generations, their other achievements were eclipsed by their oratorical reputation. **liber**: *published speech.* Cp. note ch. 3, 21.

26. Medea Ovidii: the high opinion here expressed on this tragedy is confirmed by Quint. X. 1, 98, *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit, si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset.* Only two lines have come down to us. **Varii Thyestes**: *L. Varius Rufus* (74–14 B.C.), the friend of Horace and of Vergil whose Aeneid he, with the aid of Plotius Tucca, prepared for publication. He is chiefly known as the writer of epic poems, celebrating the exploits of Caesar and Augustus. The tragedy here mentioned was still extant as late as the tenth century. It met with great success on its initial performance and is highly extolled by Quint. *l.c.*, *Iam Varii Thyestes cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest*, and by Philargyrius, an ancient commentator of Vergil: *Varium cuius exstat Thyestes tragoedia omnibus tragicis praeferenda.* See also note ch. 3, 31.—For the chiasmus at the close, see note ch. 8, 23 (p. 66).

Observe the artistic symmetry of this paragraph. Homer and Demosthenes, according to the ancients the greatest Greek poet and greatest Greek orator, are opposed to Cicero and Vergil, who occupy

the same rank in Latin literature. On the Greek side, again, Sophocles with Euripides and Lysias with Hyperides, regularly associated by the ancients, are contrasted with the orators Asinius and Messalla and the tragedians Ovid and Varius, who are also habitually grouped together. The Latin writers, moreover, follow the Greek in chiastic order. Any other names, it will be noticed, such as Aeschylus, Aeschines, or Calvus, for instance, would have wholly destroyed the equilibrium of this finely elaborated antithesis: ($\alpha : \beta : \alpha\alpha : \beta\beta >$ b : a : bb : aa).

Chapter 13. **27. contubernium**: *association with the Muses.* On the meaning of this word, see note ch. 5, 28. **timuerim** = *dubitaverim* imparts a touch of politeness to a strong assertion. Cp. ch. 26, 19 (p. 25).

28. inquieta et anxia: opposed to *securum et quietum* below. The two synonyms are also combined in Plin. *Epist.* II. 9, 1.

29. licet: *even granting that.* On this concessive use, see note ch. 9, 28. **certamina et pericula**: *pericula*, corresponding to the now obsolete use of 'danger' = lawsuit, is added as the more specific term. See note ch. 1, 15. **vel ad consulatus**: although the consulship during the Empire retained but the shadow of its former greatness, a sentimental importance always attached itself to this ancient office, and its attainment was regarded down to the latest times as the goal of a Roman's ambition. Cp. *Agr.* 44, *et consulari . . . praedito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat?* Sen. *de brev. vitae* 20, 1, *ut unus ab illis numeretur annus, omnes annos suos conterent;* Plin. *Epist.* II. 1, 2, *consulatu, ut summum fastigium privati hominis impleret.*

30. evexerint: a poetic word, and in its figurative sense not found elsewhere in T. Cp. Vell. Paterc. II. 90, 1, *quem usque in tertium consulatum . . . evexerat.*—The tense is the so-called empirical perfect, 'can raise.' So ch. 25, 18; 36, 24. **securum et quietum**: a direct reference to ch. 10, 3, where see note. **Vergilii secessum**: cp. *Vita Verg.* p. 57, *secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur.*

Page 12. **1. Augusti epistulae**: cp. *Vita Verg.* p. 61, *litteris efflagitaret* (sc. *Augustus*) *ut sibi 'de Aeneide, vel prima carminis* ὑπογραφή ('outline') *vel quod libet* κῶλον ('clause') *mitteretur.*' **auditis . . . versibus**: although the Eclogues were repeatedly re-

cited in the theatre with great success, the reference here is more probably to the chance quotation of some well-known Vergilian lines in a play or mimus.

2. surrexit universus: *rose as one man.* This homage was usually paid only to the emperor. — For the immense popularity of Vergil during his lifetime, cp. *Vita Verg.* p. 57, *si quando Romae, quo rarissime commeabat, viseretur in publico, sectantis demonstrantisque se suffugeret in proximum tectum.*

3. praesentem spectantemque: *present as a spectator. Spectantem* is tautological, but such fulness of expression is characteristic not only of this treatise, but of Latin generally. Cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 52, 243, *te audivi atque adfui;* Plin. *Paneg.* 56, *ipsum praesentem audientemque consalutabant imperatorem.* **Vergilium**: the repetition of the proper name, in place of a pronoun, serves the purpose of emphasizing the significance of such an ovation being accorded to a private individual. See note ch. 3, 29. **veneratus**: *greet respectfully.* In this weakened sense the verb is very rare. In T. again, *Ann.* XVI. 4.

4. Secundus Pomponius: a very distinguished tragic poet and intimate friend of the elder Pliny, who wrote his biography. He was consul in 44 A.D.; as legate in Germany, he in 50 A.D. defeated the Chatti, obtaining the honor of the triumphal ornaments. Tacitus repeatedly speaks of his genius and character in terms of high praise; e.g. *Ann.* V. 8; XII. 28. His great literary reputation is fully confirmed by Quint. X. 1, 98, *eorum* (sc. tragoedorum) *quos viderim, longe princeps Pomponius Secundus.*

5. Afro Domitio: a celebrated orator of the reign of Nero and one of the teachers of Quintilian. He was not a man of high character, but regarding his oratorical genius, as we may see from the criticism of T. (*Ann.* IV. 52; XIV. 19) and of Quintilian (X. 1, 118; XII. 11, 3), there seems to have been no difference of opinion. — On the transposition of the cognomina (Secundus, Afer), see note ch. 1, 1.

7. ad quorum exempla me vocas: viz. ch. 8. For the phrase, cp. Plin. *Epist.* IX. 2, 2, *ad cuius* (sc. Ciceronis) *exemplum me vocas.* **habent concupiscendum**: different from the construction of *habere* with gerundive, on which see note ch. 8, 1. Here *concupiscendum* takes the place of a missing adjective, *concupiscibilis.*

8. quod timent an quod timentur: in interrogative clauses of this nature, we expect *aut*, but *an*, as a disjunctive particle, is more common in T. than in any other Latin author. — With the thought, cp.

Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* V. 7 (a *locus classicus* on informers), *hi sunt quos timent, etiam qui timentur.*

9. ei quibus non praestant indignantur: as Marcellus and Crispus were importuned for favors, day after day (*cotidie*), they naturally found it impossible, even if willing, to grant all requests, and hence they necessarily incurred the hatred of those who were dismissed empty-handed. Cp. the similar statement in Plut. *Comp. Alcib. et Coriol.* 235 C, *οὐ γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς μὴ δεόμενοι τιμῆς, εἶτα χαλεπαίνουσι μὴ τυγχάνοντες.*

10. adligati omni adulatione: both these men have, in the eyes of Maternus, lost all personal independence by their fawning obsequiousness toward the emperor. — Marcellus was dead when this bitter charge was penned, and Crispus was not likely to have been in favor in the reign of Titus (79–81). Cp. *Introd.* p. x.

13. liberti: sc. *principis.* This is a thrust at Aper, who had singled out the defence of the emperor's *liberti*, as among the most honorable occupations of the orator. See ch. 7, 7 ff. **dulces, ut Vergilius ait, Musae**: cited from *Georg.* II. 475, *me verum dulces ante omnia Musae | . . . accipiant.* — In the phrase *ut ait*, the subject usually follows the verb. In T. again, but without *ut*, *Ann.* XI. 3; XV. 69; and quite frequently in post-Augustan Latin.

14. sollicitudinibus et curis: the same synonyms are often joined, in Cic. *ad Att.* XV. 14, in inverse order; on which see note ch. 4, 14.

15. in illa sacra, etc.: *up towards.* The shrines of the Muses were usually located on the tops of mountains and in the close neighborhood of springs, whence the poets were said to drink inspiration. So e.g. Mt. Helicon, with the sacred fountains of Aganippe and Hippocrene, and Mt. Parnassus with the Castalian spring. — For the meaning of the preposition, cp. e.g. ch. 10, 17; 19, 4; *Ann.* XII. 35. — *Sacra* here = *sacra loca.* It is often joined with *aras, templum, simulacra*, and the like. This meaning is not recognized in the dictionaries, but indisputable instances are not lacking, even in T. Cp. e.g. *Hist.* III. 33; *Ann.* I. 51. 79; Plin. *N. H.* II. 53 (54), 140; Persius, *Prol.* 7; and esp. Seneca, *Oedip.* 822; Apul. *Metam.* IV. 29, 14.

16. insanum ultra et lubricum forum: *insanum* designates the senseless noise made by the populace; *lubricum* the uncertainty and danger attending forensic pleading. With the phrase, cp. Verg. *Georg.* II. 501, *insanumque forum;* Sil. Ital. *Pun.* VII. 542, *insanae spectatae tribus! pro lubrica rostra.*

17. famamque pallentem: a common metonymy (cause for effect); e.g. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 275, *pallentes morbi;* Hor. *Carm.* I. 4, 13, *pallida mors.* Cp. also T. *Germ.* 36, *pax marcens.* Fame is said to cause paleness, because of its instability, it being dependent upon the fickle favor of the populace. **trepidus**: on the adjective for the adverb, see note ch. 4, 12. — With the entire passage, cp. Pope, *Windsor Forest,* 237 f., *Happy the man who to these shades retires, Whom nature charms, and whom the muse inspires.* **non me . . . nec . . . nec**: *non* is here used for *ne* to emphasize *me*, some phrase like *sed alii* being understood. Cp. T. *Ann.* I. 11, *non ad unum omnia deferrent.* — *Nec* with the optative or hortatory subjunctive is common in T. (ch. 22, 21; 32, 13; *Hist.* I. 84) and elsewhere.

18. anhelans, etc.: *let no freedman in panting haste rouse me from my sleep;* namely, to convey some message from the emperor, or to announce that his master has arisen, and is ready to receive the early morning visits of his 'friends.'

19. incertus futuri: perhaps a reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 580, *spes incerta futuri. Incertus* (*certus*) with genitive is poetic and frequent in post-Augustan prose. — It was the custom of wealthy Romans to remember the emperor in their wills, for where this caution was omitted, some emperors, such as Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, often annulled the testament, confiscating the entire estate. Maternus, therefore, hopes that his fortune, unlike that of Marcellus and Crispus, of which Aper had spoken so admiringly (ch. 8), might remain within moderate limits, so as not to excite the covetousness of the *princeps.* No other writer refers to this practice more frequently than T. Cp. e.g. *Agr.* 43, *coheredem . . . Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque . . . ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem; Hist.* I. 48, *testamentum Titi Vini magnitudine opum inritum, Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit.*

21. quandoque = *et quando.* So Cic. *de orat.* III. 55, 212, *quid quandoque deceat.* Cp. also *quoque* = *et quo,* ch. 8, 2, with note. *Quando* as a temporal injunction (= *cum*) is poetic, but occurs in prose whenever, as here, the style strikes a higher tone. **fatalis**: here, as often, used of a natural death. Cp. *C. I. L.* I. 1009, *hora . . . fatalis mea;* Orelli, *Inscr.* 3023 (4777), *hic tuus fatalis dies;* Tib. I. 3, 53, *si fatales iam nunc explevimus annos.* **meus dies**: cp. Cornel. Severus in Sen. *Suas.* II. 12, *hic meus est dies,* where this phrase is specially defended, and the expression *diem suum obire, to die a*

natural death. **tumulo**: the ablative of 'place where' without the preposition is particularly common in T.

23. consulat: sc. *senatum.* The same absolute use of the verb, e.g. *Ann.* I. 7, *de honoribus parentis consulturum* (sc. *senatum*). **roget**: sc. *principem.* The permission to erect statues in public places was, down to Diocletian (285–313), granted by the senate, although after the time of Tiberius (†37), the formal approval of the emperor seems to have been necessary, hence *roget* is added. — Maternus, like Hor. *Carm.* II. 20, 23 f., *sepulchri mitte supervacuos honores*, cares not for public statues and like honors, believing that his own works will constitute a more lasting monument. Cp. also T. *Ann.* V. (VI.) 1, *non crudelitatem, non clementiam cuiusquam experiar, sed liber . . . antibo periculum, vos obtestor, ne memoriam nostri per maerorem quam laeti retineatis*, and Pope, *Ode on Solitude: Thus let me live unseen, unknown; Thus unlamented let me die, Steal from the world, and not a stone Tell where I lie.*

Chapters 14–16, 22. Further discussion on the respective superiority of poetry over oratory is cut off by the entrance of Vipstanus Messalla, who, after an exchange of pleasantries, leads up to the main theme at issue ; namely, the causes of the decline of eloquence.

24. velut instinctus: *inspired.* *Velut* is added by way of apology for what might otherwise seem an exaggerated expression.

25. Vipstanus Messalla: see *Introd.* p. xxix.

26. intentione: *fixed attention.* On this meaning, see note ch. 11, 9.

28. tempestivus: on the adj. for the adv., see note ch. 4, 16. **interveni consilium . . . tractantibus**: *intervenire* with the acc., in place of the dative or a prepositional clause, in T. again, *Ann.* III. 23. Here it governs the two impersonal objects in the acc. and the personal in the dat., an inconcinnity quite Tacitean.

29. meditationem = *scholastica controversia* (below l. 18), μελέτη and as such opposed to actual pleadings in court or real forensic contests. — The sudden introduction of a new speaker for the purpose of changing the theme of discussion, is a dramatic device common to dialogue composition, and in the present case probably borrowed from Cic. *de rep.* I. 11, 17, *Haec Scipio cum dixisset, L. Furium repente venientem adspexit . . . tum Furius: 'quid vos agitis? num*

sermonem vestrum aliquem diremit noster interventus?' 'Minime vero,' Africanus 'soles enim tu haec studiose investigare,' etc.

30. minime, minime: an instance of the figure *iteratio*, ἐπίζευξις. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Cat.* I. 3, *fuit, fuit.* **adeo**: *on the contrary.* See note ch. 10, 4.

Page 13. **2. accuratissimus**: *carefully elaborated.* See note ch. 6, 22. — Such open flattery seems to have been characteristic of Roman cultured society. Cp. also ch. 23 ext., 24 init., and very often in Cicero's dialogues.

4. laeta: *enthusiastic.*

5. ardentior: *fiery*, synonymous with *concitatus.* **poetarum quam oratorum . . . oratio** = *poetarum quam oratorum orationum . . . oratio.* On the *comparatio compendiaria*, see note ch. 9, 14. The so-called *complosio syllabarum*, seen in *similiŏr ōratio,* is expressly censured by Quintilian, but here, as well as in nearly all of the forty similar instances in T., the two syllables are of different quantity, and hence their juxtaposition would not have been offensive to Roman ears. Cp. ch. 41, 11, *minŏr ōratorum ;* 13, 11, *servī vĭdentur ;* 36, 21, *flammă māteria ; Hist.* II. 1, *decŏr ōris.*

8. atque id ipsum: *not only . . . but even the very fact, I may add.* On this intensive use of *atque* cp. ch. 19, 29 ; *Hist.* I. 50 ; Cic. *Lael.* 4, 16, *mihi vero erit gratum atque id ipsum.*

9. non . . . tantum: is in T., with but two exceptions (*Ann.* XIII. 20 ; XIV. 55), always separated by an intervening word.

11. disputationes: correspond to the *arcana semotae dictionis* (ch. 2, 10), of which the *Dialogus* itself is an illustration. Such discussions, and on similar grounds, were strongly advocated by Varro (Gellius, *Noct. Att.* XIII. 11, 4).

12. litterarum iucundissimum, etc.: on the ὁμοιόπτωτον, see note ch. 5, 29.

14. pervenerint: future perfect. — This passage, and very similarly ch. 32, 15 (p. 31), clearly betrays the fictitious character of the *Dialogus.* Cp. note ch. 8, 32.

15. itaque: again, ch. 30, 21 ; 39, 28 ; but not elsewhere in T.

16. Iulii Africani: one of the most distinguished orators of the time, and a fellow-countryman of his biographer. Cp. ch. 15, 7.

18. scholasticis controversiis: *rhetorical school exercises*, on which see ch. 35. — Messalla fully recognizes the approval which Aper, as the true exponent of the rhetorical practices of the day had won,

but he cannot resist the temptation (cp. ch. 32 ext.) of expressing the popular verdict in such a way as to leave no doubt as to his own private convictions. This covert reproof and delicate irony is not lost upon Aper, his answer being made to subserve the purpose of starting the discussion which forms the main theme of the *Dialogus*.

Chapter 15. **21. vetera . . . antiqua**: this pleonastic collocation is common in all periods of the language, and not infrequent in Greek. In T. again, ch. 16, 13 (p. 15); 17. 14; *Hist.* V. 16; *Ann.* I. 20. Cp. also Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, II. 6, *That old and antique song.*

23. inridere atque contemnere: contempt follows ridicule, hence *atque* not *et*, according to the usage of T., pointed out ch. 4, 14. — The same verbs are combined by Cic. *de leg. agr.* II. 35, 96. — On the *laudatio temporis acti*, cp. T. *Ann.* II. 88, *dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi;* Plin. *Epist.* VI. 31, 1, *sum ex eis qui mirantur antiquos, non tamen, ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio;* Mart. VIII. 69, *Miraris veteres, Vacerra, solos Nec laudas nisi mortuos poetas;* and ch. 18, 3. The question as to the superiority of the ancients over the moderns is frequently discussed under various forms in antiquity, and then reappears in France in the seventeenth century. The particular controversy regarding the decline of eloquence from older standards of excellence seems to have reached its culmination in the reign of Nero. It had practically become a dead issue when Quintilian wrote his great work (c. 93 A.D.).

24. fratris tui: *M. Aquilius Regulus*, one of the most notorious informers and legacy hunters in the reigns of Nero and Domitian. He was the half-brother of Messalla, who defended him with great eloquence, as related by T. *Hist.* IV. 42. He was acquitted by Vespasian, and died in the reign of Trajan. As Domitian's intimate friend, Martial extols his virtues and eloquence, but Pliny speaks of his character with supreme detestation.

25. oratorem: i.e. a true orator. See note ch. 1, 7.

27. verebaris: *have no reason to fear.* Cp. note ch. 41, 5.

28. ipse tibi: for the regular *tibi ipse*, the antithesis being intentionally emphasized by chiasmus, as often at the close of a period. Cp. note ch. 8, 23. — With the thought, cp. Cic. *de rep.* I. 13, 20, *Pergisne eam, Laeli, artem inludere in qua . . . excellis ipse.*

29. paenitentiam ago: a post-Augustan phrase, doubtless very common in Quintilian's day, for he censures (IX. 3, 12) Sallust for *using a* form of *paenitere* in its stead.

31. in contrarium: such prepositional clauses with neuter adj. are most frequent in Seneca and T. **aliter sentire credo**: so again, ch. 24, 30, and repeatedly in Cicero; e.g. *de rep.* III, 5, 8, *ne sic etiam sentire videare . . . neque sit ignota consuetudo tua contrarias in partes disserendi.* Such rejoinders seem to have belonged to the stock-in-trade of dialogical composition.

32. velim impetratum: the perf. inf. pass. after verbs of wishing, usually with ellipsis of *esse*, occurs only here in T., and is generally rare in post-Augustan writers. It is found as early as Plautus, e.g. *Amph. Prol.* 33, and is most frequent in Cicero.

Page 14. **1. scrutetur ac reddat**: *let some one investigate these causes and then give us the result of his inquiry.* On this force of *ac*, see note ch. 4, 14.

2. plerumque: *very often.* Cp. note ch. 2, 11.

3. quia: *inasmuch as;* so again only in the second part of the *Annals* in which T. repeatedly returns to his earlier usage.

4. etiam Graecis . . . absit: two distinct ideas have here coalesced into one; namely, (1) Greek eloquence also experienced a decline, usually dated from the time of Demetrius of Phaleron (c. 345–c. 283 B.C.); and (2) its decline was more rapid than that of Roman oratory. **Aeschine**: one of the most illustrious of the ten Attic orators and a virulent opponent of Demosthenes. He was born 389 B.C. and died c. 314.

5. Demosthene: see note ch. 16, 30. **Sacerdos Nicetes**: a famous rhetorician of the time of Tiberius (14–37 A.D.); not to be confounded with his later namesake, one of the teachers of the younger Pliny. **quis alius**: a favorite combination in T. Cp. ch. 5, 1. **Ephesum . . . Mytilenas**: *Mytilenae*, on the island of Lesbos, was during the early empire the more famous rhetorical school.

6. concentu . . . clamoribus: *concordant acclamations.* The two words of applause in a theatre are also combined by Plin. *Paneg.* 2. **scholasticorum**: here used in the sense of 'hearers' or 'pupils.' The more common meaning, 'rhetorician,' is found ch. 26, 17 (p. 25); 42, 3.

7. quatit: *shakes to its foundations.* The same figure is frequently used by Valerius Flaccus; e.g. *Argon.* II. 122, *motis quatit oppida linguis.* Cp. also Polyb. XV. 32, κατερρήγνυτο πᾶς ὁ τόπος ὑπὸ τοῦ κρότου καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς; Iuv. VII. 86, *fregit subsellia versu;* IX. 14, *recitante . . . subsellia cuneata quaterentur.* **Afer**: cp. note ch.

13, 5. **Africanus**: see note ch. 14, 16. — Observe the chiastic grouping in this closing paragraph ($\alpha : \alpha : \beta : \beta$, ∴ b : b : b : a : a).

Chapter 16. **9. quaestionem movisti**: so similarly Cic. *Brut.* 87, 297, *rem commovisti nova disputatione dignam.*

12. cura . . . meditatio: cp. ch. 30, 10; *Ann.* IV. 61, *cura . . . meditatio et labor;* Dem. *Orat.* 18, 308, μελέτη καὶ ἐπιμέλεια. Here the two synonyms are combined to balance *eruditionem* and *ingenium*. On the singular predicate, see note ch. 5, 18.

16. pro duobus, etc.: modelled upon Cic. *de orat.* II. 7, 27, *nisi prius a vobis impetraro . . . 'ego' inquit Iulius 'pro utroque respondeo;'* and frequently in other dialogues of Cicero.

18. omisisse . . . reliquisse: this distinction is again borrowed from Cic. *de orat.* II. 29, 126, *ut si quid ab Antonio aut praetermissum aut relictum sit non explores neque te, Antoni, si quid non dixisti, existimabimus non potuisse quam a Crasso dici maluisse.*

19. paulo ante dixisti: viz. ch. 15, 31.

20. manifestus . . . accingi: so again *Ann.* II. 57, *dissentire manifestus;* Stat. *Theb.* X. 759, and in late Latin. This so-called epexegetic infinitive with an adjective seems to be a Grecism and is comparatively rare in Latin prose. Cp. ch. 16, 20; 18, 30; 23, 26; 26, 13; *Agr.* 8; *Hist.* IV. 39; *Ann.* IV. 52.

Chapter 16, 23–23 ext. In his second speech, Aper endeavors to prove the relative signification of the word *antiqui*, and hence its inapplicability to the great orators of the Republic, the interval between Cicero's death and his own day not exceeding the limit of a man's lifetime (— ch. 17 ext.). He then proceeds to point out that every age creates its own standards of oratorical excellence (— ch. 18 ext.), and that the speeches antedating the new era, inaugurated by Cassius Severus, can no longer satisfy an age in which the appreciation of poetic embellishment has become keener, and positive knowledge more widely disseminated (— ch. 20 ext.). This is followed by a severe impeachment of the orators of the Republic, particularly Cicero (— ch. 23, 10). The speaker closes with a graceful compliment to his hearers as representatives of the ideal of modern eloquence, for which he bespeaks the favorable verdict of posterity (— ch. 23, 20).

23. enim: implying, as often, an ellipsis. *Yes, you are perfectly right in thinking so, for I shall*, etc. **inauditum et indefensum**:

the same collocation is found in five other passages in T. *Inauditus* in its legal sense is post-Augustan, this being its earliest occurrence. Cicero used *indictus* or *incognitus* instead.

25. quam . . . determinetis: a mere amplification of *quos vocetis antiquos.* Such repetitions, designed to bring out the thought more clearly, are highly characteristic of Tacitean style. In this treatise again, ch. 24, 1; 38, 12 ff.; 40, 19 f. — With the sentiment, cp. esp. Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 34 ff., *si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit Scire velim chartis pretium quotus adroget annus Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter Perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter Viles atque novos?* etc.

27. audio antiquos = *audio de antiquis.* In this sense usually restricted to the passive (see note ch. 7, 20); in the active, as here, e.g. *Hist.* I. 84, *nec illas adversum senatum voces ullus usquam exercitus audiat.* — As *antiquos* and *veteres* are synonymous (cp. note ch. 15, 21), *quosdam* and *olim natos* were added to define *antiquos* more accurately. These terms are used in the same relative sense, in a somewhat similar passage, in Cic. *Brut.* 10, 39 ff.

28. Ulixes ac Nestor: the eloquence of Nestor was proverbial throughout Greek and Roman antiquity, his oratorical reputation being based upon the famous line in the *Iliad* II. 249, τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. — On the eloquence of Odysseus, cp. *Iliad* III. 222, καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμέριησιν; Ovid, *Metam.* XIII. 92, *facundus Ulixes.* The two are mentioned together as the oldest orators of Greece, by Cic. *Brut. l.c.* Cp. also Auson. *Epist.* 16, 14 (p. 239 P.), *grandines Ulixes et mel fluentem Nestora concinnat ore Tullii.*

29. mille fere, etc.: the siege of Troy, according to the calculation of Eratosthenes (c. 276–196 B.C.), which was the one generally accepted in antiquity, lasted from 1193–1184. Adding 75 to 1193, which year Aper selects for the reasons given below, we get 1268 or 1300 in round numbers, as the interval between the really ancient Homeric orators and the dramatic date of the *Dialogue* (75 A.D.). — *Fere* in T. occurs only here and in *Hist.* IV. 60, being replaced by *ferme.*

30. Demosthenes, etc.: *Demosthenes* was born 384 B.C. and died Oct. 12, 322. *Hyperides*, also one of the ten Attic orators, was born c. 389, and was put to death by Antipater, one week previous to Demosthenes. *Philip* of Macedon was born in 382, ascended the throne in 359, and was assassinated by Pausanias in 336. *Alexander* the Great was born July 21, 356, and died May, 323.

Page 15. 1. **satis constat**: is an exceedingly common phrase in T., but with two exceptions, in *Agr.* 13 and, without *satis*, in *Hist.* III. 29, it always precedes the accusative with infinitive.

3. **non multo plures**, etc.: Aper intentionally reduces the actual number of years that had elapsed between the age of the great Attic orators and his own time to as low a figure as a liberal interpretation of *utrique . . . essent*, on the one hand, and *nostram aetatem* on the other, will allow, for by this sophistical calculation he secures a chronological interval sufficiently small for his present purpose.

5. **quod spatium**, etc.: this passage is borrowed from Cicero's lost dialogue *Hortensius*. See *Introd.* p. xxxii.—Similar reflections are particularly frequent in Seneca; e.g. *Epist.* 74, 10, *quidquid nobis dedit* (sc. providentia) *breve est . . . si comparas mundi totius aevo.* **si referas . . . videatur**: the present subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis is found in T. only here, ch. 26, 16, and *Ann.* III. 54, *si velis . . . timeas*, for *Agr.* 46 and *Hist.* I. 84 are not cases in point. Translate: *If you will compare*, etc.

6. **naturam saeculorum**: i.e. the astronomical duration of *saecula*.

7. **respectum**: viz. *referas*. Translate: *If you turn to a consideration*, *referre* being here used, by a kind of zeugma, in a slightly different sense from above. **aevi**: observe the variety of expressions for time in this paragraph: *aetas, tempus, saeculum, aevum*.

8. **in proximo**: belongs logically to *aetatem*, but grammatically to *spatium*. **in Hortensio**: one of the most brilliant dialogues of Cicero, which contained an eloquent and elaborate defence of philosophy against the attack of the orator Hortensius. Only fragments have come down to us.

9. **magnus . . . annus**: the great astronomical, sometimes called the Platonic, year in which the planets and the sun in their supposed revolution around the earth returned to any given point of departure.

10. **caeli siderumque**: *the constellations of the heavens.* The same collocation, e.g. *Agr.* 12, *infra caelum ac sidera.* **cum maxime**: *at this particular time*, an expression more frequent in T. than in other writers.

11. **isque annus**, etc.: according to the most recent modern calculations, the *eadem positio caeli siderumque* occurs every 25,816 solar years.

12. **incipit . . . extitisse**: only apparently pleonastic, for *incipit* is equivalent to *sequitur*, in which sense the verb is used repeatedly in Seneca, and in late Latin.

14. quo nos: sc. *extitimus*. A common ellipsis in T. Cp. note ch. 7, 3. **eodem mense**: i.e. one month of the *magnus annus* would be equivalent to 1079.5 ordinary years, but the interval between the death of Demosthenes and Aper was only a little less than 400 years!

Chapter 17. **16. sed transeo**: *sed*, like *enim*, with ellipsis: 'But this may suffice by way of introduction, I now pass on,' etc.

17. Menenium . . . Agrippam: consul 503 B.C. Sent to induce the seceding plebs to return, he succeeded by telling them the story of the rebellious members of the body. His oratory is characterized by Livy, II. 32, as *priscus* and *horridus*. **potest videri antiquus**: Aper, having no further use for the sophistical interpretation of *antiquus*, is now not averse to applying the term to Agrippa, although Nestor and Odysseus antedate him by nearly 700 years. See ch. 16, 28. — On *ut puto*, see note ch. 21, 19.

19. Ciceronem, etc.: *Cicero* (Jan. 3, 106–Dec. 7, 43 B.C.), *Caesar* (July 13, 100–March 15, 44), *Caelius* (c. 88–48), *Calvus* (March 28, 82–c. 47 B.C.), *Brutus* (c. 79–42), *Asinius Pollio* (76 B.C.–5 A.D.), *Messalla Corvinus* (c. 59 B.C.–13 A.D.). On the oratorical characteristics of these men, comprising the most eminent orators of the last days of the Republic, see below, ch. 21 ff., 25.

20. quid = *cur*, in indirect questions is common in poetry, but, barring Livy, extremely rare in prose. In T. again, *Hist.* IV. 7.

22. ipso: for *ipse*, because Cicero is especially singled out from the others. **Hirtio . . . Pansa**: they fell together at the battle of Mutina, 43 B.C., the year of their consulship.

23. Tiro libertus: *M. Tullius Tiro*, Cicero's Boswell, was manumitted in 54, and died nearly a hundred years old. He became Cicero's literary executor, and wrote a eulogistic and voluminous biography of his patron, which was much used by later writers. He is also the inventor of a famous, perhaps the first, system of shorthand, known as *notae Tironianae*. **scripsit**: *has recorded*. The perfect expresses the authoritative character of the information. The general use of the present, in citations from extant authors, is a modern idiom. But cp. T. *Ann.* XIV. 2, *tradit Cluvius . . . ceterique quoque auctores prodidere*. Plato, *Prot.* 339 a, λέγει . . . Σιμωνίδης, and Meno 76 d, ἔφη Πίνδαρος.

24. Decembres: the day and month of Cicero's death are known only from this passage.

25. Q. Pedium . . . suffecit: this occurred Aug. 19, 43 B.C., and it is from this day that T., Suetonius, and Cassius Dio date the reign of

Augustus. — *Q. Pedius*, a nephew of Julius Caesar, praetor 48, triumphed over the Pompeian forces in Spain in 45. As consul he passed the decree of banishment against the assassins of Caesar (*lex Pedia*). He died the night after the news of the proscriptions of the second triumvirate reached Rome (43 B.C.).

26. statue sex et quinquaginta, etc.:

Augustus,	Aug. 19, 43 B.C.	— Aug. 19, 14 A.D.	56
Tiberius,	14 A.D.	— Spring, 37	$22\frac{1}{2}$
C. Caesar (Caligula),	37	— 40	$3\frac{5}{6}$
{ *Claudius*,	Jan. 24, 41	— Oct. 13, 54	$13\frac{3}{4}$
{ *Nero*,	54	— June 6, 68	$13\frac{2}{3}$
Galba, Otho, Vitellius,	68	— Dec. 20, 69	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Vespasian,	Jan. 1, 70	— Date of *Dial.* 75/4	6(5)
		Total,	$117(6)\frac{1}{4}$

Cicero, Aper means to say, is unjustly reckoned among the *antiqui*, for as an enumeration of the duration of imperial reigns from Augustus to Vespasian shows, the total number of years elapsed since Cicero's death is comprised within a period of 120 years, which, according to a widespread belief, marks the limit of a man's lifetime. Nor (*nam*) is this idea a mere superstition, for I myself have seen a man in Britain, etc., and instances of similar longevity have only recently come under your own observation. **mox**: *subsequently*. In this sense exceedingly frequent in T.

27. Tiberii, etc.: the two Iulian and Claudian Caesars form closely combined groups and are separated from the first emperor (a : bb : : cc). The identical arrangement is found in two other passages of T. Cp. *Hist.* II. 76, *non adversus Divi Augusti mentem* (a) *nec adversus . . . Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem* (bb) *aut Claudii vel Neronis* (cc); *Ann.* I. 1, *temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia* (a) . . . *Tiberii Gaique* (bb) *et Claudii ac Neronis res* (cc). — In view of the disputed authorship of the Dialogue, such minute coincidences are especially significant.

28. ac . . . atque . . . ac: observe the formal symmetry of collocation, *ac, atque* joining the above-mentioned groups, *et* the names within them. Such polysyndeta or accumulations of *ac*, *atque* are rare. Cp. Catull. 68, 152, *haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia;* and T. *Agr.* 31, *ager atque annus . . . corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus . . . inter verbera ac contumelias.* Cato is said to have been very fond of them.

30. illum . . . longum et unum annum: *the one memorably long year* (June 6, 68–Dec. 20, 69); memorable, because so many stirring events occurred within so short a period. — Observe that *unus* in T., contrary to general usage, is always post-positive, except when joined to a numeral (*unus . . . alter*) or to *idem*. Cp. e.g. ch. 34, 21; 41, 16; and ch. 22, 21; *Germ.* 24, *unum atque in omni coetu idem.* **sextam . . . stationem**: *sixth year*. By a slight anacoluthon to be construed with *statue*, though *adice* intervenes. The latter would have required *sex stationes*. Cp. note ch. 16, 8. *Statio*, in the sense in which it is here used, is ἅπ. εἰρ. It is, perhaps, a Gallicism. Aper, in particular, furnishes numerous instances of words used in peculiar significations. Cp. notes ch. 9, 23 (p. 8); 17, 16 (p. 16); 18, 29; 19, 29. 2. 8; 20, 28; and ch. 5, 30. — This passage fixes the dramatic date of the *Dialogus* at 75 A.D.

32. centum et viginti anni . . . aetas: for the evidence of this belief among the Romans, — it is as old as Genesis (6, 3) and Deuteronomy (34, 7), — see *Introd.* p. ix. This is the pivotal point upon which Aper's entire argumentation rests, but as the time discussed falls well within the prescribed limit, he is not here called upon to stretch a point in his chronology, as in the previous instance.

Page 16. **1. in hunc diem**: *to the present day*. Cp. note ch. 12, 8. **conliguntur**: *reckon up, are obtained*. The word in this sense is post-Augustan, comparatively frequent in the elder Pliny, but very rare elsewhere. In T. again, *Germ.* 37, *ducenti et ferme decem anni conliguntur.* **ipse ego**: *ego* is made emphatic by position, in order to add strong confirmation to what might seem an exaggerated statement.

2. fateretur: subjunctive of characteristic. On the alleged longevity of the Britains, cp. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita* V. 30, 6, ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν γηρᾶν.

3. Britanniae . . . adgressi sunt: the subject of the verb (*Britanni*) must be supplied out of *Britanniae* by a 'construction according to sense,' common in both Greek and Latin, but especially so in Livy, e.g. 32, 18, *Elatia clausit portas nec nisi vi cogerentur* (sc. *Elatienses*). We should expect the subjunctive, but the abandonment of the *oratio obliqua* is characteristic of Tacitean style. See e.g. ch. 30, 19; 32, 17 (p. 31); *Ann.* I. 39, *venisse patrum iussu qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant.*

4. arcere litoribus: this phrase, compared with Caesar's own account, *de bell. Gall.* IV. 20 ff., V. 4 ff., shows that the earlier of the

two invasions of Britain (55 and 54 B.C.) is here alluded to. — On the inference to be drawn from this statement regarding the age of Aper, otherwise indeterminable, see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **pellere** = *depellere.* So again T. *Hist.* IV. 46. On the simple for the compound verb, see note ch. 1, 20. **ita** = *itaque.* More frequent in this sense in T. than in any other writer.

6. **pertraxisset**: *had dragged him all the way.*

7. **ipsum**: i.e. the self-same Caesar whom he had opposed in Britain.

8. **actionibus** = *orationibus.* So again ch. 32, 27. The word, in this sense, like actor = orator, e.g. ch. 26, 23, is post-Augustan. **quidem**: *at any rate.* **congiario**: the name originally designated a vessel that held a congius (about 3 qts.). It was subsequently applied to largesses given to the people. The one here referred to is probably that distributed by Titus in 72 A.D.

9. **plerosque**: *a number of.* See note ch. 2, 11. **Divo quoque**: *Divus* is here used as a proper name, as shown by the position of the particle.

10. **semel atque iterum**: *time and again.* **narrabant**: the indicative is noteworthy, because the subjunctive (*fateretur*) was used in the very similarly constructed clause above.

11. **Corvinum . . . Asinium**: on the data of their birth and death, see note ch. 12, 25. The *nam* clause contains two gross chronological errors which T. cannot have committed.

14. **ne dividatis** is not the prohibitive subjunctive, but is dependent upon a *haec omnia dico* to be supplied in thought, an ellipsis exceedingly common in all periods of the language. Cp. e.g. Plaut. *Most.* 613, 1023; Lucret. V. 890; VI. 761; Cic. *de orat.* II. 12, 51; *in Verr.* II. 4, 23, 54; *ad fam.* I. 9, 23; Hor. *A. P.* 406; Quint. X. 1, 45.

15. **adgnoscere**: in ch. 3, 30; 7, 21, it signified to recognize by the sense of sight. In this passage it refers to *hearing*, an unparalleled use of the word, but the boldness is somewhat lessened by the addition of *aures.*

16. **coniungere et copulare**: these synonyms, also combined in Cic. *de orat.* I. 51, 222, are joined by *et*, but by *ac* to *adgnoscere*, to which they stand in a causal relation. So exactly similar ch. 32, 18. Cp. note ch. 4, 14. — The entire statement is somewhat strained in expression, but quite in conformity with Aper's style. He regards the possibility that both Cicero and the modern orators might have been listened to by the same audiences, as a close chronological link be-

tween them, but the modern orators are not expressly mentioned as the men with whom the union was to be established, this being clear from the context.

Chapter 18. **17. praedixi**: *premised.* In this sense frequent in early and in post-Augustan Latin.

18. fama gloriaque laus: these synonyms are often grouped. In T., e.g. ch. 7, 11; *Germ.* 37; *Hist.* IV. 6; *Ann.* XII. 28.

19. in medio sitam: i.e. the glory that Cicero and his contemporaries shed upon their own age belongs equally to the present, because of the close temporal proximity between the two epochs. The phrase is extremely common in all periods, but *situs* for *positus* is very rare. Cp. Cic. *Tusc.* V. 33, 94, and T. *Hist.* IV. 74, *in communi sita.* **Servio Galba**: *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, born c. 189 B.C., consul 144. His eloquence is frequently extolled by Cicero, who, however, characterizes his style as dry, harsh, and archaic.

20. C. Carboni: *Gaius Papirius Carbo*, consul 120 B.C., the friend of C. Gracchus, whose murderer he subsequently eulogized. Cicero pays a high tribute to his oratory. Cp. also ch. 34, 22. **aut**, as shown by *quosque alios*, is here somewhat loosely used for a copulative conjunction. Cp. ch. 11, 23; 40, 1 f.; Cic. *Orat.* 1, 4, *in poetis non Homero soli locus est aut Archilocho aut Sophocli aut Pindaro.* **quosque alios**: by attraction for *aliis quos.* So e.g. ch. 21, 17; *Hist.* I. 53; *Ann.* II. 74. **merito antiquos**: this marks the complete abandonment of Aper's sophistical interpretation of *antiqui*, advocated in ch. 16, 25 ff., his retreat having been already prepared by ch. 17, 17, where see note.

21. horridi: the polysyndetic accumulation of disparaging epithets serves the purpose of strongly emphasizing Aper's low opinion of the style of these early orators. These rhetorical synonyms are often variously combined by Cicero, Quintilian, and others.

22. Calvus: see ch. 17, 19, and below, l. 10. The truth of the statement can no longer be verified.

23. Caelius: see ch. 17, 19; 21, 29 ff. **Cicero**: his admiration for the old orators, such as Galba, Cato, Laelius and Gracchus, is amply confirmed by many enthusiastic comments in his works, but this did not blind him to their glaring lack of stylistic finish and rhetorical art.

24. ante praedixero: a common pleonasm. Cp. e.g. ch. 28, 17; *Ann.* XI. 7; XIII. 17; XV. 4. **mutari cum temporibus**: with the

thought, amplified in ch. 19, 25 ff.; cp. T. *Ann.* III. 55, *nisi forte rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis ut quemadmodum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur nec omnia apud priores meliora;* Lothair I. of Germany: *tempora (omnia) mutantur nos et mutamur in illis;* Pope, *Moral Essays*, I. 172 f., *Manners with fortunes, humors turn with climes, Tenets with books and principles with times.*

25. genera dicendi: the three types of style, the grand, the florid, and the middle. These, according to Quintilian (XII. 10, 66), ought to have been still further subdivided, a suggestion which T., once his pupil, apparently adopted in the succeeding criticisms. **Catoni**: *M. Porcius Cato Censorius*, born 234, consul 195, censor 184, died 149 B.C. According to Cic. *Brut.* 16, 61, he was the oldest Roman orator worthy of the name. **seni**: probably here used in reference to the time in which he lived, not to his advanced age. So similarly in an epigram, cited by Quint. VIII. 3, 29, *antiqui Catonis.* Cp. also Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 56, *aufert | Pacuvius docti famam senis;* Statius, *Silv.* IV. 9, 20, *Bruti senis* (died at the age of 37).

26. C. Gracchus: *C. Sempronius Gracchus*, b. 154, trib. pleb. 123, assassinated 121 B.C. Regarding the power of his eloquence, the ancients are unanimous. Cp. esp. Cic. *Brut.* 33, 125 ff., *Noli . . . putare quemquam, Brute, pleniorem aut uberiorem ad dicendum fuisse . . . eloquentia quidem nescio habuisset parem neminem;* Plut. *C. Gracch.* 3, ἰσχύων τῷ λέγειν, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδείς. **plenior et uberior**: also combined in T. *Ann.* XII. 60, and Cic. *Brut. l.c.*

27. Crassus: *L. Licinius Crassus*, born 119 B.C., consul 95, censor 92, died 91, one of the principal interlocutors in the *De Oratore*, in which Cicero's criticism of his eloquence is that of fulsome eulogy. But his style, unlike that of Gracchus, did not appeal to the taste of a later age, and hence we are wholly dependent upon what his great admirer tells us. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 38, 143 ff.; 66, 233. **distinctior**: a synonym of *ornatus.* Cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* II. 37 ext., *distinctum et ornatum caelum astris; de orat.* I. 12, 50, *orationem et ornatam et . . . distinctam.*

28. urbanior, like ἀστεῖος in Greek designates the refined wit of the city-bred. As Crassus was especially distinguished for this accomplishment, the compliment thus paid to Cicero is a very high one, and the more noteworthy, because of Aper's subsequent disparaging criticism (ch. 23 init.). **altior**: *impassioned;* a striking characteristic of the oratory of Gracchus, Antonius, Hortensius, Calvus, and particularly Cicero, less so of Crassus, but the speaker

neutralizes this favorable comment in ch. 22, 6 f. — Antonius and Hortensius are strangely ignored in the *Dialogus*, although their oratory contained many features which could not but have commended themselves to Aper. One reason for this remarkable omission may, perhaps, be found in the circumstance that Antonius never published his speeches, while those of Hortensius are said to have lost their vitality on being transferred to the written page.

29. elaboratus: of persons, seems to be found only here, and then again in late Latin. This eulogy of Messalla Corvinus is simply designed to disparage Cicero by way of contrast, as is clear from ch. 21, 22 ff. **disertissimus**: sc. *fuerit*. The ellipsis of the perfect subjunctive of *esse* is rare. In T. again, *Ann.* XI. 35; XV. 49. Cp. also Cic. *de div.* II. 68, 141, *quaero autem cur Alexandro tam illustre somnium.* — *Disertissimus* is here used quite as a synonym of *eloquentissimus.* So in Catull. 49, 1, *disertissime Romuli nepotum* (viz. Cicero). See note ch. 1, 6.

30. interim: *for the present.* **probasse contentus**: on the epexegetic infinitive, see note ch. 16, 20. With *contentus*, ch. 23, 28; 26, 13; and *Hist.* I. 36. — For the so-called logical perfect, cp. ch. 31, 29; *Agr.* 3; *Germ.* 43; *Hist.* IV. 73.

Page 17. **1. non esse unum eloquentiae vultum**: the same thought is found in Quint. XII. 10, 69, *plures . . . eloquentiae facies*, and discussed in detail by Cic. *de orat.* III. 9, 34.

2. deprehendi: *are found.* So ch. 30, 22; 32, 28. For yet another meaning, see notes ch. 3, 22; 18, 11. **statim**: *straightway*, i.e. nor does it follow necessarily.

3. deterius, etc.: an idea of frequent occurrence, e.g. in Cic. *de orat.* II. 23, 94; III. 7, 25–9, 36; *Brut.* 56, 204; Quint. VIII. 5, 34; X. 5, 7. — The same alliterative collocation in T. *Ann.* XV. 10, *in diversa ac deteriora transibat.* **vitio**, etc.: this sentiment has found very frequent epigrammatic expression in both Greek and Latin. Cp. especially Democritus, *fragm.* 31, ἀνοήμονες τῶν ἀπεόντων ὀρέγονται, τὰ δὲ παρέοντα . . . ἀμαλδύνουσιν; Eur. *Hipp.* 183, οὐδέ σ' ἀρέσκει τὸ παρόν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸν φίλτερον ἡγῇ; Pseudo-Longinus, περὶ ὕψους, 44, 14, ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου τὸ καταμέμφεσθαι τὰ ἀεὶ παρόντα; Lucret. III. 956, *semper aves quod abest, praesentia temnis;* Prop. III. (IV.) 1, 23, *omnia post obitum fingit maiora vetustas;* Vell. Pater. II. 92, 4, *praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur;* Sen. *ad Marc.* 16, 9, *est quidem haec natura mortalium, ut nihil magis placeat quam quod*

amissum est, iniquiores sumus adversus relicta ereptorum desiderio; and Hobbes, *Leviathan: The praise of ancient authors proceeds not from the reverence of the dead, but from the competition and mutual envy of the living.* See also note ch. 15, 23. — *Vitio* = *culpa*, a weakened use common in all periods.

4. in fastidio: occurs also in Plin. *N. H.* XII. 32, 58, 134, but similar prepositional phrases are very common in T., e.g. ch. 19, 2; 32, 14; *Ann.* IV. 6, *in usu;* XIII. 18, *in honore.*

5. num dubitamus inventos: the acc. with inf. after negatived expressions of doubt, in place of *quin*, occurs first in Terence and Lucretius; it is never used by Caesar, Sallust, or Cicero, but beginning with Nepos and Livy, instances multiply, and in post-Augustan writers, including T., it was a generally accepted idiom. **Appium Caecum**: *Appius Claudius Caecus*, cons. 307 and 296 B.C., statesman and orator, the builder of the earliest aqueduct and of the Appian Way. His famous speech against Pyrrhus (280 B.C.) was long extant, and constituted the earliest specimen of literary Latin prose. The present comparison with Cato was probably suggested by Cic. *Brut.* 16, 61.

7. obtrectatores: on the defamers of Cicero, see note ch. 12, 23 f. **inflatus**, etc.: the occurrence of the same opprobrious epithets in Quintilian's spirited defence of Cicero against these charges (XII. 10, 12 ff.) makes it all but certain that both he and T. took them from the identical correspondence here cited, probably in the convenient collection of Mucianus. See *Introd.* p. xxxii.

8. exsultans: metaphor taken from a fiery horse. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Acad. Prior.* 35, 112, *campus in quo exsultare possit orator.* — Cicero freely confessed that he was partial to rhetorical exuberance and redundancy of diction (*Brut.* 91, 316), but claimed that he overcame these faults of his youth through the influence of his teacher Molo, at Rhodes.

9. parum Atticus: Calvus was the leading representative of those who, in open opposition to Cicero's eclectic style of oratory, took the Atticists, particularly Demosthenes and Lysias, as their models. **legistis**, etc.: this correspondence has not come down to us. It belonged to that class of letters which Cicero himself did not expect to see published. Cp. *Epist. ad fam.* XV. 21, 4. But Tiro, his literary executor, like an ancient Froude, failed to share these scruples.

12. exsanguem et aridum: these epithets are also elsewhere combined and frequently applied to style. **otiosum**: *dull, monoto-*

nous, with special reference to the philosophic discursiveness of Brutus. **diiunctum**: *disjointed*. Brutus affected a laconic and epigrammatic diction.

13. rursusque: *on the other hand*. So very often in T. **a Calvo . . . male audisse**: like κακῶς ἀκούειν. The verb has a passive sense, hence construed with the preposition *a*. This classical idiom ('to hear ill') was common in Elizabethan English (Ben Jonson, Spenser), and occurs as late as Milton.

14. solutum: *unrhythmical*. **enervem**: *effeminate*. Probably the very word used by Calvus for the more usual *enervatus*.

15. fractum atque elumbem: synonymous with *solutum* and *enervem*. *Elumbis* (*limping*) seems not to occur elsewhere, but its equivalent *delumbis* is repeatedly found; e.g. Cic. *Orat.* 69, 231; Persius I. 104; Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* 8, 16, *dictio delumbis*. — Observe the symmetrical collocation of these epithets, in groups of two, these being in turn symmetrically joined by *et* and *atque*.

16. si me interroges: sc. *dicam*. On this ellipsis, see note ch. 10, 1.

Chapter 19. **19. nam**: marking the transition to a new topic. See note ch. 2, 1. **quatenus** = *quoniam*. Cp. note ch. 5, 3. **admiratores**: a post-Augustan word. In T. only here and ch. 21, 8.

20. velut terminum: the *velut* apologizes for the metaphor, which is, however, repeatedly used by Lucretius and Cicero. **Cassius Severus**: he was born of low origin c. 44 B.C. Augustus banished him to Crete, c. 8 A.D., for defaming Roman nobles in his writings. On his continuing his libellous attacks, Tiberius sent him to the desert island of Seriphos, where he died in abject poverty in 32 A.D. The frequent allusions to him in Seneca Rhetor, Quintilian and Tacitus bear ample testimony to the enduring impression which his eloquence made, and justify in a measure the great importance which Aper and even Messalla (ch. 26) attach to him. Severus occupies practically the same position in the development of Roman oratory that Demetrius Phalereus does among the Greeks. See note ch. 15, 4.

22. flexisse = *deflexisse*. Cp. note ch. 1, 20.

24. iudicio et intellectu: i.e. with a clear *appreciation* of the issues involved, and a full *understanding* of the significance of the changes rendered necessary by the altered conditions of the taste and culture of his time. As Cassius Severus was an intense admirer of Cicero, Aper's statement must be taken *cum grano salis*.

25. namque: postpositive, in T. also *Ann.* I. 5; II. 43; IV. 43. **paulo ante**: viz. ch. 18, 19.

26. diversitate aurium: *difference of taste.* This phrase is added to *condicione temporum* for the purpose of closer definition. See note ch. 1, 15. **formam . . . speciem**: *stylistic type.* On the singular predicate, see note ch. 5, 18.

27. prior, like *vetus* (ch. 37, 4), of the Republican period, as opposed to *nostra aetas.* So generally in T., e.g. ch. 1, 1; 41, 21.

28. imperitus et rudis: standing epithets of the common people. **impeditissimarum orationum spatia**: i.e. tiresome length of long-winded speeches. For a similar figure, cp. Aristoph. *Ran.* 90 f., *τραγῳδίας ποιοῦντα πλεῖν ἢ μύρια, Εὐριπίδου πλεῖν ἢ σταδίῳ λαλίστερα*; *Nub.* 430. Plat. *Prot.* 329 *a*, *δόλιχον κατατείνουσι* (sc. *οἱ ῥήτορες*) *τοῦ λόγου.*

29. dicendo . . . diem eximeret: a technical phrase for certain filibustering or dilatory tactics by which a senator, desirous of preventing or postponing action upon some measure, talked against time, for the Roman presiding officer possessed no power to compel any one to speak to the question. The first 'closure' enactment was passed by Pompey in 52 B.C. See note ch. 38, 16.

Aper's statement, doubtless by an oversight of the author, is made applicable only to the orators in the comitia, for *populus imperitus* excludes the senate, and *diem eximeret* the law courts, a time limit having been set in judicial trials at least as early as 70 B.C. — *Eximeret* and *videretur* below are subjunctives of indefinite frequency, the apodosis being in the imperfect indicative. The construction is extremely rare in pre-Augustan prose. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* V. 35, *sin . . . vellent . . . relinquebatur*, more frequent in Livy, and quite common in later writers, especially T. and Suetonius. **longa**: for *longorum* by hypallage. Cp. note ch. 2, 3.

30. praeparatio: *προπαρασκευή*, a technical term of rhetoric, referring to the attempts of an orator to render his hearers or the judge favorably disposed at the outset. Aper does not condemn the practice, and it is expressly recommended by Quintilian, but he objects to excessively long introductions of this kind.

31. narrationum: the *narratio*, *διήγησις* usually followed upon the *praeparatio principii.* **alte repetita series**: far-fetched expositions or episodes, for which the technical name was *egressio*, *παρέκβασις*. **divisionum ostentatio**: oversubtle divisions and subdivisions of the points at issue. Good illustrations of this are furnished in the Controversiae and Suasoriae of Seneca Rhetor.

32. mille argumentorum gradus: the fourth part of a rhetorically constructed speech, known as the *confirmatio* and *refutatio*. The censure implied in *mille* is endorsed by Quint. V. 10, 100 f.

Page 18. **1. Hermagorae**: *Hermagoras* of Temnos, not to be confounded with his less famous namesake, a rhetorician under Augustus, flourished c. 160 B.C. He was the founder of a new system of rhetoric in opposition to the Peripatetic and Stoic doctrines then in vogue. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De Inventione* are mainly based upon his τέχναι ῥητορικαί in seven books. Its dry character, owing to an excessive ingenuity of analysis, is also attested by Quint. III. 11, 21 f. **Apollodori**: *Apollodorus* of Pergamum, the teacher of Augustus, was born c. 104 B.C., and died at the age of eighty-two in Rome, highly honored by his imperial pupil. His theory, diligently spread by his followers, known as *Apollodorei*, (for the master wrote but little), is chiefly known to us from Quintilian. It was exclusively confined to forensic oratory.

2. quod si: marks the transition to a stronger statement and usually implies an ellipsis. 'Hence it will not surprise us to learn that when any one.' In T. again, ch. 3, 30; 41, 6; *Agr.* 16, 26; *Ann.* III. 58. **odoratus**: sc. *esse*. *To have got a mere sniff at philosophy.* An intentionally vulgar phrase to express Aper's low opinion of the crude culture of that time. In this figurative sense the verb occurs only here and in Lactant. *Instit.* VII. 1, 11, *veritatem leviter odoratus*.

4. locum = *locum communem*, general reflections. **in caelum**: lit. *up towards heaven*. Cp. Engl. *praise to the skies*, and note ch. 13, 15. **ferebatur**: post-Augustan writers, following Livy, prefer the fuller form *efferre* in this phrase. **nec mirum**: sc. *erat*. The copula is generally omitted in this phrase, being equivalent to an emphatic adverb like *quippe*.

6. paucissimi, etc: cp. Sueton. p. 119 Rf., *Rhetorica quoque apud nos perinde atque grammatica sero recepta est.* Aper's statement is, nevertheless, exaggerated, for the orators of the Ciceronian age, at least, all had a thorough rhetorical training.

7. philosophorum placita: the apathetic attitude of the Roman toward philosophy was deeply imbedded in the national character. Cp. Ennius, p. 145 V., *philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis, nam omnino haud placet* and *degustandum ex philosophia non in eam ingurgitandum*; Tac. *Agr.* 4, *studium philosophiae acrius ultraque quam concessum Romano hausisse;* Suet. *Nero* 52, *a philosophia eum mater*

avertit, monens imperaturo contrariam esse. Cicero himself, who opened up to his countrymen the tenets of Greek speculation, had to combat this national prejudice constantly.—*placita*, 'doctrines,' is a post-Augustan word for *decreta*. In T. again, *Hist.* III. 81; *Ann.* XIV. 22; XVI. 19, *sapientium placita*.

8. **omnibus** = *omnibus his rebus*. So again, ch. 36, 27; *Hist.* I. 68, but more frequently in gen. plural. **cortina**: the word originally designated any caldron-shaped vessel, and then by an easy transition came to mean the vault of heaven, the tripod of Apollo, or the auditorium in a theatre. Here it denotes a circular place in the courtroom or 'gallery' occupied by the general public, the officials and parties in a suit being seated 'within the railing.'

9. **instructus . . . imbutus**: the former, like *institutus, doctus*, is used of systematic training; the latter signifies a superficial and perfunctory acquisition of knowledge.

10. **itineribus**: *styles, methods*. In this figurative sense, quite common in T.; e.g. *Hist.* II. 95; IV. 49; *Ann.* III. 66; XVI. 17. Earlier writers prefer *via*.

11. **per quae**: the preposition does not denote the instrument, as in ch. 24, 26, but direction or extent, a usage which is poetic and post-Augustan, some word of motion being generally found with it. Cp. ch. 29, 18; 32, 21; *Hist.* IV. 7, *per altercationem . . . provecti*.

12. **vi et potestate**: see note ch. 5, 13. These terms are frequently combined; e.g. *Germ.* 42; *Hist.* III. 11. **iure et legibus**: *ius*, 'legal code,' is the more generic term, to which *leges* 'enactments' is added, according to Tacitean usage, pointed out ch. 1, 15. Cp. esp. Lucret. V. 1144, *iuraque constituere ut vellent legibus uti.* The ablatives are quasi-instrumental or causal, 'in accordance with, by means of.' Very frequent in T., e.g. ch. 25, 9; *Germ.* 25, 28; *Hist.* I. 28; *Ann.* I. 70; XII. 10.

13. **nec accipiunt tempora**, etc.: our modern judges, Aper means to say, follow the spirit rather than the letter of the law, and hence do not feel bound to observe the time regulations laid down in legal statutes, but occasionally determine, according to their own discretion, the number of hours to be allotted to the several speakers. The law at this time seems to have allowed nine hours to the defendant and six to the plaintiff.

14. **expectandum habent**: on this construction, see note ch. 8, 1.

15. **alio transgredientem**: among the speeches of Cicero, the *Verrine*, *pro Cornelio*, *pro Archia*, and *pro Murena* furnish illustra-

tions of this. The practice is cleverly ridiculed by Mart. VI. 19, *lis est mihi de tribus capellis . . . tu Cannas Mithridaticumque bellum . . . iam dic, Postume, de tribus capellis.*

16. festinare se testantur: discussed by Quint. IV. 5, 10, *festinat enim iudex ad id quod potissimum est*, etc.

Chapter 20. **17. de infirmitate valetudinis**: Quint. IV. 1, 8, is more tolerant of such *captationes benevolentiae.* **qualia sunt fere principia Corvini**: cp. Quint. *l.c.*, *qualia sunt pleraque Messallae prooemia*, and the title of one of Varro's essays, *Messalla de valetudine.*—Tacitus often joins adverbs to nouns or to the copula, e.g. *Agr.* 10, 13; *Hist.* II. 16. Cp. also Catull. 31, 1, *paene insularum;* Caes. *B. G.* VI. 30, *ut sunt fere domicilia;* Cic. *de rep.* VI. 11, 11, *paene miles.*

19. quinque in Verrem libros: Aper sophistically ignores the fact that Cicero actually delivered only one of these speeches in court (Aug. 5, 70 B.C.), the other five, exclusive of the so-called *Divinatio*, having been subsequently composed. Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 29, 103, *in accusationis septem libris.* **expectabit**: *wait* or *listen patiently to the end.* So often. Aper again fails to state that even if all these speeches had been delivered, they would not have been spoken in *one* day.

20. exceptione: this term denoted the objections made by the defendant against statements of plaintiff. **formula**: this contained the instructions to the praetor, setting forth the points at issue. **volumina** = *orationes.*

21. pro M. Tullio: Cicero composed two speeches (72/1 B.C.) in behalf of his client who had accused P. Fabius, one of Sulla's veterans, of destroying the plaintiff's villa near Thurii. The first speech is entirely lost, and the second preserved only in some palimpsest fragments. **Aulo Caecina**: this extant speech was delivered in 69 B.C. and deals with an intricate will case. Its technical nature is expressly mentioned by Cicero himself in *Orat.* 29, 102. Among the 55 orations of Cicero which have come down to us entire, the *pro Caecina* ranks eleventh in point of bulk, so that the epithet *inmensa* is not much of an overstatement, especially when it is remembered that T. shows an increasing fondness, under Vergilian influence, for words like *ingens*, *inmanis*, *inmensus*, in place of *magnus.*

23. colore: here in its non-technical sense of beauty, embellishment. **sententiarum**: *reflections.* See note ch. 20, 3. **nitore**

et cultu: these synonyms are frequently combined; e.g. ch. 23, 14; Quint. VIII. 3, 61; XI. 1, 48.

25. aversatur: used absolutely as in Plaut. *Trin.* 629; Cic. *pro Cluent.* 63, 177. **adfluens et vagus auditor**: i.e. the chance and casual visitor who passes in and out at intervals. The phrase simply singles out one particular element in the miscellaneous audience, designated by *vulgus adsistentium.* This accounts for the singular predicate, *adsuevit.* Cp. note ch. 1, 15. — *Adfluens*, in the sense which it has here, is poetic (Verg. *Aen.* II. 796), and occurs in prose not earlier than Livy. It is quite common in T. In Cicero the word means 'rich, affluent.'

26. laetitiam: although *laetus* very commonly signifies an ornate style, the noun in this sense seems to occur only here and ch. 21, 23. It must, however, be observed that T. is fond of using abstract substantives with the figurative signification which elsewhere belongs only to the corresponding adjective. Cp. notes ch. 21, 10; 31, 32; 22, 20; 23, 17.

27. tristem: often applied to style, synonymous with *horridus, rudis, incultus, sordidus,* and contrasted with *laetus, hilaris, nitidus, ornatus.*

28. impexam: a bold figure, and as a rhetorical term found only here. Cp. note ch. 17, 30. For another, also unique, figurative sense, see T. *Ann.* XVI. 10, *vidua impexa luctu continuo.* Elsewhere the word occurs frequently, but always in its concrete meaning, 'dishevelled.' **Q. Roscii**: *Q. Roscius Gallus*, the greatest comic actor of Rome, the intimate friend and teacher of Cicero, whose speech in his behalf (76 B.C.) is still extant. His art, the result of most painstaking care and profound study, was deemed so perfect that his name became proverbial for excellence in general. But the refinement and dignity which the Ciceronian period admired in Roscius and in his great contemporary, the tragedian Aesopus, appeared old-fashioned and stilted to an age whose taste had been vitiated by the realistic acting of the pantomime. Cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 59, 251, *quis neget opus esse oratori in hoc oratoris motu statuque Roscii gestum et venustatem.*

29. Turpionis Ambivii: *L. Ambivius Turpio*, a celebrated theatrical manager in the days of Terence, and actor in all of his plays. On the transposition of the cognomen, see Cic. *de sen.* 14, 48, *Turpione Ambivio*, and note ch. 1, 1. **exprimere**: *reproduce.*

30. incude positi: the metaphor is of Greek origin, and was pro-

verbial in Latin. Cp. e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* I. 166, πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν; Plaut. *Pseud.* II. 2, 20; Cic. *de orat.* II. 39, 162; Hor. *A. P.* 440; *Amm. Marcell.* XVIII. 4, 2; Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* IV. 2. **profectus**: a poetic and post-Augustan word.

31. Audire, etc.: with the thought, cp. ch. 22, 8; Quint. II. 2, 8, *multa cotidie dicat quae secum auditores referant.*

Page 19. **2. sensus**: *conceit, thought.* So ch. 23, 14; = *sentence*, ch. 21, 1; 22, 7; 23, 24; = *commonplaces*, ch. 32, 31; = *popular maxims*, ch. 31, 31.

3. sententia: *clever saying, bon mot.* So ch. 22, 1; 23, 24; 32, 31; = *ideas, reflections*, ch. 20, 23; 21, 25; 26, 24. **locus**: *passage.* In the treatment of the *loci* the *matter* is paramount, in that of the *sensus* or *sententia* the stylistic *form*.

4. exigitur, etc.: as post-Augustan poetry had become largely declamatory, owing to the one-sided rhetorical teaching of the schools, so oratory, too, with no great objects to evoke enthusiasm, sought a substitute in poetic imagery and stylistic embellishment.

5. Accii aut Pacuvii: the oldest and most illustrious representatives of Roman tragedy. *M. Pacuvius*, born c. 220, died 132 B.C.; *L. Accius*, born 170, died c. 86 B.C. **veterno**: *archaic mould.* Cp. Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* I. 1, *veternosum dicendi genus imitari.* So similarly ch. 21, 32; 22, 18; Hor. *Epist.* II. 2, 116, of Cato's style, *situs informis premit et deserta vetustas;* Sen. *Ep.* 58, 5, *quantum apud Ennium et Accium verborum situs occupaverit.*

6. Horatii: the mention of Horace seems somewhat out of place in this connection, and Ovid — some of whose poems are little more than versified rhetorical exercises — would have been a more appropriate selection. Perhaps we may trace in this the influence of T.'s teacher, Quintilian, who shows a similar partiality for Horace. **Vergilii**: originally Vergil was not considered of much value from a *rhetorical* point of view, but gradually, beginning with Quintilian (XI. 46), this opinion changed, so that Florus, his younger contemporary, could compose a dialogue discussing *Vergilius poeta an rhetor*, a question decided in the fifth century by Macrob. *Satur.* V. 1, who states that Vergil was *non minus orator quam poeta*, while a century earlier, the Vergilian commentator Donatus had already endeavored to prove that Vergil was *summus rhetor.* To such an extent did poetry and oratory go hand in hand. **Lucani**: the author of the *Pharsalia*, a declamatory epic in 10 books, written in the reign of

Nero. Contemporary opinion seems to have been very much divided as to his rank as a poet. Cp. Mart. XIV. 194, *sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam Sed qui me vendit bibliopola putat;* Quint. X. 1, 90, *magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.* It was this very characteristic that caused his introduction into the schools of rhetoric. T. here again seems to echo the views of his teacher. The marked predilection for the more modern writers soon caused a reaction in favor of the older literature, which reached its height in Fronto and his school in the second century.

7. **horum**: i.e. the *vulgus adsistentium* (l. 25). **auribus et iudiciis**: the former refers more particularly to *sensus*, etc., the latter to *locus*, etc.

8. **aetas pulchrior**: among the writers of the first century A.D., Aper's stylistic ideal may be found in Seneca, who, owing to that unique contradiction between performance and precept which distinguishes this literary genius, has himself severely condemned the very style of which he was the foremost exponent, and which Quintilian combated all his life. Cp. Seneca's 114th Epistle, and Quint. II. 5, 21 f.; IX. 4, 142; X. 1, 125, 130; XII. 10, 73 ff.

10. **quid enim si**: an ellipsis as usual is implied. 'For to contend that this would be sacrificing sense to sound, were as unwarranted an assertion, as if,' etc. Cp. *Agr.* 3; *Hist.* IV. 42.

12. **Caemento . . . tegulis**: so grouped in *Germ.* 16.

13. **radiantur**: to be taken as an intransitive middle, equivalent to *fulgent.* — This eulogy of the architectural beauty of Rome recalls the boast of Augustus, mentioned by Suet. *Octav.* 28, *marmoream se relinquere* (sc. *Romam*) *quam latericiam accepisset.*

Chapter 21. 14. **fatebor** = *fateor.* A very common usage, but apparently confined to the first person singular. Cp. e.g. Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 397, *censebo;* 1202, *sperabo;* Cic. *de domo* 8, 18, *respondebo;* Hor. *Carm.* III. 2, 26, *vetabo;* Cic. *pro Planc.* 36, 89; Plin. *Epist.* VII. 33, 1, IX. 23, 5, *fatebor.* **simpliciter** = ἁπλῶς, *frankly.* So ch. 25, 9; *Hist.* I. 15; III. 53; *Ann.* IV. 40; XVI. 18.

15. **in quibusdam**: sc. *orationibus.* **risum . . . somnum tenere**: *tenere* is the verb regularly used with both *risus* and *somnus*, as may be seen from Cic. *Brut.* 80, 278; 85, 293. Cp. also Hor. *A. P.* 104, *male si mandata loqueris aut dormitabo aut ridebo.*

16. **unum de populo**: cp. Sen. *Epist.* 10, 3, *non est unus e populo;* and in Greek, e.g. Pseudo-Theocr. *Epigr.* 22, εἷς ἀπὸ τῶν

πολλῶν; Lucian, *Somn.* 9, ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἷς. **Canuti . . . Arri . . . Furnio . . . Toranio**: Roman orators of the first century B.C. casually mentioned by Cicero and Plutarch. Of these Furnius seems to have been the ablest speaker, Arrius the most mediocre.

17. quosque alios = *aliisque quos.* Cp. note ch. 18, 20.

18. valetudinario: *infirmary.* Supply *versantes* or *manentes.* On this ellipsis, cp. note ch. 8, 9. The phrase was proverbial. **ossa, etc.**: rhetorical or stylistic characteristics are very frequently illustrated by metaphors taken from the human body, particularly the arms, sinews, muscles, bones, flesh, and blood. For especially elaborated instances, see ch. 21, 18 ff.; 31, 24 ff.

19. ipse: on the ellipsis of *sed*, see note ch. 6, 21. **ut puto**: like *ut opinor*, in ch. 25, 10; 32, 9; 37, 6, does not here express any doubt in the mind of the speaker as to the accuracy of his knowledge, but is merely introduced to avoid an air of learning in what purports to be an informal conversation between friends. In ch. 17, 17, the phrase has an additional touch of irony. **libros** = *orationes;* cp. note ch. 3, 21. **una aut altera**: i.e. one or the other, picked out at random. Cp. note ch. 9, 14. So always, when *vix* precedes.

20. oratiuncula: the diminutive is here used by way of disparagement.

21. nec dissentire ceteros: unless we assume this to be one of the numerous exaggerations characteristic of the speaker, a decided reaction in favor of Calvus had set in twenty years later, for Quint. X. 1, 115, says, *inveni qui Calvum praeferrent omnibus.* **hoc meo**: see note ch. 4, 12.

22. Calvi: sc. *libros* or *orationes.* Such an ellipsis is rare, except after numerals. Cp. e.g. Cic. *ad Att.* XII. 23, 2, *ex Apollodori; Orat.* 70, 233, *sume de Gracchi; Acad. post.* 4, 13, *contra Philonis;* Sen. *Epist.* 108, 34 *Ciceronem in his ipsis de republica;* and occasionally in very late Latin. **Asitium**: probably identical with P. Asitius, who was indicted for the murder of an Egyptian ambassador, and successfully defended by Cicero. In both trials (of the impeachment of Drusus nothing is known) Calvus, as we learn from this passage, appeared as the accuser.

24. in Vatinium: *P. Vatinius*, a notorious politician and servile partisan of Caesar. Cicero attacked him in a virulent speech which has come down to us. Calvus' speeches against him were at least three in number, as is shown by *secunda.* The first trial (58 B.C.) was broken up by an armed force, Calvus, however, like Cicero in the case

of Verres, subsequently publishing the speech. The other two belong to the years 56–54. These oratorical masterpieces are frequently quoted by Seneca, Quintilian, and the grammarians, and his sensational eloquence on one occasion has been immortalized by his friend Catullus (C. 53). Cp. also note ch. 34, 25.

26. auribus . . . accommodata: so Cic. *de orat.* II. 38, 159, and T. *Ann.* XIII. 3, *oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus* (sc. *praetulit*) *ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum.* **ipsum quoque**: i.e. one would not expect this knowledge in one whose speeches so rarely furnished any evidence of its existence.

28. quominus = *quin* after *deesse* in T. again, *Ann.* XIV. 39. See note ch. 3, 24. **cultius**: *elegantly.* In this figurative sense, the word is chiefly poetic and post-Augustan. — *Sublimius* and *cultius* correspond chiastically to *verbis* and *sententiis.* **ingenium ac vires**: *powerful intellect.* Hendiadys. Cp. ch. 8, 31; 21, 25; 37, 22. — *Voluntas*, often nearly allied in meaning to *iudicium*, is not uncommonly contrasted with *ingenium.* Cp. e.g. ch. 25, 1 f.; Cic. *de rep.* III. 8, 12, *voluntas defuit . . . aut ingenium.*

29. nempe: *of course.*

31. altitudinem: very rare in the sense of *sublimitas*, ὕψος, and not elsewhere used of style, though *altus* is quite common as a rhetorical term. Cp. note ch. 20, 26.

32. sordes . . . verborum: the same expression is found in Fronto, p. 158. On the metaphor, cp. note ch. 20, 5. **compositio**: like σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων, refers to the harmonious collocation of words and phrases, the addition of *hians* restricting its meaning to a style which fails to avoid *hiatus*, *concursus vocalium*, on which see Cic. *Orat.* 23, 77; Quint. VIII. 6, 62.

Page 20. **1. inconditi sensus**: denotes the neglect of rhythm in the periodic structure of sentences.

2. antiquarium: *lover of antiquity*, a very rare post-Augustan word. Again ch. 37, 5; 42, 2; Suet. *Octav.* 86; Iuv. VI. 454. **Caelium**: the style of Caelius (see ch. 17, 19) is characterized by Quintilian (X. 2, 25) as harsh and not free from archaisms, and in ch. 25, 28, the term *amarus* is applied to him by Messalla. His letters to Cicero, filling Bk. VIII. of the *Epist. ad fam.*, do not furnish any criteria for the verification of Aper's criticism. It seems, however, to have been substantially just.

3. **propter** as a causal preposition, though common in all periods of the language, occurs only here in T., and possibly *Hist.* I. 65, *ob* takes its place, an idiosyncrasy which is shared by T.'s imitator, Ammianus Marcellinus.

4. **occupationes rerum**: the curiously idiomatic addition of *rerum* is only apparently pleonastic, being designed to impart greater precision to the phrase. Cp. Hor. *Epist.* II. 2, 116, *vocabula rerum;* Verg. *Aen.* I. 462, *lacrimae rerum.* — Aper's high eulogy of Caesar's oratorical abilities is endorsed by many passages. Cp. e.g. Quint. X. 1, 114, *si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur;* T. *Ann.* XIII. 3, *Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus;* Suet. *Caes.* 55 (citing from a now lost letter of Cicero's), *oratorem quem huic antepones eorum qui nihil aliud egerunt?*

6. **Brutum**, etc.: this criticism is again in close agreement with Quintilian, who excludes him from the list of orators, relegating him to the philosophers. Cicero dedicated to him the *Tusc. Disput.*, the *de finibus* and the *de nat. deorum*, and Plut. *Brut.* 2, bears testimony to his wide acquaintance with Greek philosophy. The titles of three Stoic treatises of his, *de virtute*, περὶ καθήκοντος (= *de officiis*), and *de patientia*, are known to us.

7. **minorem esse fama sua**: *fell short of his reputation.* **admiratores**: we do not know the names of any of these. The statement was doubtless based upon published criticisms still accessible to T.

8. **nisi forte . . . nisi qui**: i.e. no one will read . . . unless it be one who also. So T. *Ann.* III. 57.

9. **Decitio Samnite**: in all probability identical with the Cn. Decitius Samnis mentioned by Cic. *pro Cluent.* 59, 161. Nothing is known of Caesar's defence of this man. **Deiotaro rege**: this speech was delivered by Brutus before Caesar at Nicaea in 47 B.C. It is twice referred to in flattering terms by Cicero.

10. **ceteros**: viz. on the dictatorship of Pompey, at Caesar's funeral; funeral orations on his father-in-law, Appius Claudius and his uncle, M. Cato; *pro Milone* (never delivered), to which may be added the invectives against Augustus mentioned by T. *Ann.* IV. 34. **lentitudinis**: *dullness.* Cp. Stat. *Silv.* IV. 9, 20, *Bruti senis oscitationes* ('long-winded speeches'), ch. 22, 5, and note ch. 20, 26. **tepor**: *lukewarmness*, midway between *fervidus* and *frigidus.* Of style only here. This seems confirmed by Cic. *ad Att.* XV. 1, *est oratio* (sc. Bruti) *scripta elegantissime . . . ego tamen . . . scripsissem ardentius.*

11. carmina: *Caesar*, in his youth, wrote *Laudes Herculis;* a tragedy *Oedipus;* a poem called *Iter*, and amatory verses, all of which Augustus forbade to be published, but six lines on Terence have come down to us. — *Brutus* is included by Plin. *Epist.* V. 3, 5, in his list of erotic poets.

12. bibliothecas: this must refer to private book collections, for the first public library in Rome was founded by Asinius Pollio in 39 B.C.

13. Cicero: the great orator was also a prolific poet, and Plut. *Cic.* 2, on the authority of Suetonius, tells us that he was at one time considered at the head of Roman poets, but that in the biographer's own day, his fame had been eclipsed by the appearance of many poets of genius. This is confirmed by the numerous disparaging criticisms of Cicero's poetry, found in writers especially of the first century. Cp. e.g. Sen. *Exc. Contr.* III. praef. 8, *Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit;* Sen. *Epist.* 107, 10, *si displicuerint* (sc. *mei versus*) *scies me in hoc secutum Ciceronis exemplum;* Quint. XI. 1, 24, *in carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni;* Iuv. X. 124, *ridenda poemata.* Modern scholars have unjustly endorsed this unfavorable view, for Cicero's hexameters, however we may criticise their substance, when examined in the light of formal development, undoubtedly mark a very noticeable advance upon his predecessors, and so great a poet as Lucretius has honored them by repeated imitation. **sed felicius**, etc.: on these epigrammatic phrases, see note ch. 10, 30.

14. Asinius . . . natus sit: see note ch. 12, 25.

15. inter Menenios et Appios: so similarly Quint. X. 1, 113, *a nitore et iucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest* (sc. Asinius) *ut videri possit saeculo prior;* and yet, not unlike Seneca in this respect, he was so blind to his own stylistic shortcomings that he censured Sallust, e.g., for an excessive love of archaisms. — The rhetorical plural of proper names, denoting a class, is very common, but rarely used by way of censure. Cp., e.g., Cic. *Brut.* 69, 244, *non putabam te usque ad Stalenos . . . venturum;* Sen. *Epist.* 97, 10, *omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones feret;* 118, 4, *Vatinios fieri;* and in T. *Hist.* I. 37, *plus rapuit Icelus quam Polycliti et Vatinii et Tigellini;* II. 95, *Polyclitos Patrobios et cetera odiorum nomina; Ann.* XII. 60. — On Menenius and Appius, see notes ch. 17, 2; 18, 5.

16. studuisse: *studere = to study*, is post-Augustan usage.

17. tragoediis . . . in orationibus: observe the distinction in

meaning between the ablative and the ablative with the preposition. In the tragedies of Asinius, Aper says, Pacuvius and Accius seem to live over again, while in his speeches we repeatedly come upon *passages* smacking of the same archaic flavor.

18. siccus: *dry-as-dust.* The term is frequently applied to style. Cp. also Quint. X. 2, 17, *tristes et ieiuni* (= *sicci*) *Pollionem aemulantur.* **sicut corpus hominis**: on the simile, see note ch. 21, 18, and cp. Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, 1, 76 ff.: *In some fair body, thus the informing soul With spirit feeds, with vigor fills the whole; Each motion guides, and every nerve sustains Itself unseen, but in the effect remains.*'

19. eminent venae nec ossa numerantur: note the chiasmus and the libration of clauses throughout.

21. toris: *in the muscles.* Ablative of place. See note ch. 13, 21. **nervos**: *sinews.*

22. nec = *ne . . . quidem.* See note ch. 8, 18. **per ipsum stetit**: *was not his own personal fault,* i.e. his shortcomings, mentioned immediately below, being those of his age. The excuse here presented in behalf of Corvinus would, strictly speaking, be applicable to all his contemporaries, the criticism itself being also somewhat at variance with Aper's statement in ch. 18, 28, where even Cicero has to yield the palm to Corvinus. This curious mixture of praise and censure, skilfully brought in under the guise of the figure known as 'praeteritio, παράλειψις,' is probably due to the presence of Messalla, a descendant of the orator.

24. videmus enim quam: *for we observe, how little.* This meaning of *quam*, especially after *videre*, is very common.

Chapter 22. **26. pugna cum aequalibus**: e.g. Brutus and Calvus. Cp. ch. 18, 6 ff., and Sen. *Contr.* VII. 4 (19) 6, *Calvus qui diu cum Cicerone iniquissimam litem de principatu eloquentiae habuit.*

27. antiquos: i.e. the Attic orators. Cp. Quint. X. 1, 115, *imitator autem est Atticorum* (sc. Calvus); Cic. *Brut.* 82, 284, *Atticum se, inquit* (sc. Brutus), *Calvus noster dici oratorem volebat;* and ch. 18, 9.

28. suorum temporum eloquentiam: i.e. the Rhodian, and to a certain extent also some of the less exaggerated types of Asianic oratory.

31. verbis delectum: corresponding to ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων, which consists in the careful selection of an idiomatic vocabulary and the avoidance of archaic or obsolete terms. **compositioni**:

σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων. Cp. note ch. 21, 32, and Quint. X. 3, 5, *delectus enim rerum verborumque agendus est . . . post subeat ratio collocandi versenturque omni modo numeri.*

32. **locos quoque laetiores attentavit**: *tried his hand at beautiful passages.* The same phrase occurs in Tacitus' imitator, Amm. Marcell. XXIX. 2, 8, *splendida loca attentare.*

Page 21. 1. **sententias**: *bright sayings.* Cp. note ch. 20, 3.

2. **iuxta finem vitae**: e.g. the *pro Milone* (51 B.C.), *pro Ligario* (50 B.C.), *Philippica* (44/3). — *iuxta* = *sub*, in a temporal sense only here and in Plin. *N. H.* II. 77, 79, 188, *iuxta solstitia.* It must be noted, however, that this particular preposition is also elsewhere in T. used in very singular significations. Cp. *Germ.* 21, *periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem* ('when combined with'); 30, *velocitas iuxta formidinem* ('not far removed from'). — On the statement itself, see Cic. *Brut.* 2, 8, *cumque ipsa oratio iam nostra canesceret haberetque suam quandam maturitatem et quasi senectutem.* **postquam**: with the pluperf. indicative is extremely frequent in T.

3. **usuque**: *having in particular learned by experience.* *-que* as an epexegetic conjunction is, perhaps, more common in T. than in any previous writer. **experimento** = *practice.* In this sense rare in T. Cp. ch. 34, 17; *Agr.* 12, 16, 19; *Hist.* I. 11; II. 97. For its usual meaning, cp. note ch. 29, 28.

4. **esset**: i.e. what in Cicero's opinion was the best type of oratory. Hence the subjunctive. In Aper's judgment, Cicero was still far from having realized the perfect ideal even in his maturity, as is evident from his alleged shortcomings enumerated below. **priores orationes**: e.g. the speeches *pro Quinctio* (81 B.C.), *pro Roscio Amerino* (80), *pro Roscio comoedo* (76). It is from the year 75 B.C. that Cicero himself dates the beginning of his maturity. See *Brut.* 92, 318, *cum autem anno post ex Sicilia me recepissem, iam videbatur illud in me, quidquid esset, esse perfectum et habere maturitatem quandam suam.*

5. **lentus**, etc.: cp. ch. 19, 30 f., and Quint. X. 2, 17, *otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse;* Sen. *Epist.* 100, 7, *pedem servat lenta* (sc. *oratio Ciceronis*).

6. **otiosus circa excessus**: cp. ch. 18, 12, and Sen. *Epist.* 114, 16, *illa in exitu lenta, qualis Ciceronis est.* — *Excessus* is the more usual term in post-Augustan Latin for *egressio* or *exitus.* Cp. Quint.

III. 9, 4, *egressio vel quod usitatius esse coepit excessus.* **tarde commovetur,** etc.: this criticism is completely at variance with the verdict of the ancients and Cicero's own emphatic statement to the contrary in *Orat.* 37, 129, *Brut.* 93, 322, but Aper, as has been repeatedly observed, does not shrink from misrepresentation, when it suits his purpose.

7. pauci sensus apte . . . terminantur: this is also flatly contradicted by the detailed rules given for prose rhythm in the *Orator* and by an examination of the extant speeches. But what with Cicero had been only a means to an end, had in Aper's day become an end in itself. Cp. Quint. VIII. 5, 13, *nunc aliud volunt, ut omnis sensus in fine sermonis feriat aurem.*

10. duraturus: fut. part. as adj. See note ch. 9, 16.

11. lautum: *elegant*, is rarely used of persons. Observe the alliteration. Cp. ch. 26, 21 f.; 40, 8; *Germ.* 27, *lamenta et lacrimas; Hist.* I. 12, *licentia ac libidine;* II. 10, *libertatem et licentiam;* 49, *laudibus et lacrimis; Ann.* XV. 64. *libare se liquorem illum Iovi liberatori;* and note ch. 2, 14. **patrem familiae**: for the more usual archaic genitive (*familias*), was first used by the historian Sisenna (see note ch. 23, 32). In T. again, *Germ.* 10.

12. tecto tegi: the so-called *figura etymologica.* In T. only in one other passage, viz. *Ann.* XII. 31, *facinora fecere.* In ch. 32, 24, and 34, 23, it seems to have been intentionally avoided.

13. visum et oculos: the concrete term is joined to the abstract by *et*, in accordance with the usage pointed out in note ch. 1, 15; *imbrem* and *ventum*, however, express two *distinct* ideas and are therefore joined by *ac.*

15. sit . . . et aurum et gemmae: two subjects designating similar ideas frequently take a singular predicate, especially when the verb precedes, even though, as here, one of the subjects be in the plural. Cp. e.g. ch. 39, 22; *Germ.* 27, *arma . . . equus adicitur; Hist.* I. 15, *inrumpet adulatio, blanditiae;* II. 78, *datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini;* IV. 42, *reliquerat exul, pater et . . . bona.* With *et . . . et*, e.g. ch. 26, 10; 38, 28; Cic. *ad Att.* XVI. I, 6, *egit autem et pater et filius;* Sall. *Iug.* 8, 2, *et gloriam et regnum venturum;* Iustinus, 40, 1, 1, *et reges et regnum Syriae consumptum.* — With the thought, cp. Pope, *Essay on Crit.* II. 295: *With gold and jewels cover every part.*

16. sumere in manus . . . adspicere: the former refers more especially to *aurum*, the latter to *gemmae.* **libeat**: sc. *cuivis.* The ellipsis of an indefinite pronoun is exceedingly common.

17. procul arceantur: cp. the dictum of Caesar, cited from his lost work, *de Analogia*, by Gell. *Noct. Att.* I. 10, 4, *habe semper in memoria atque in pectore, ut tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum.* **oblitterata et obsoleta**: cp. ch. 8, 24; Cic. *de orat.* III. 37, 150, *abiecta atque obsoleta; in Verr.* II. 1, 21, 56, *antiqua et iam obsoleta.* The Latin is fond of such alliterative groups.

18. rubigine infectum: the same phrase occurs in Val. Max. II. 9, 5. — For the figure as applied to style, see ch. 20, 5. — The same advice is given by Cic. *de orat.* III. 10, 39; *de opt. gen.* 3, 8; Quint. I. 6, 39; and Longinus (*Rhet. Graec.* I. p. 306 Sp.), πεφύλαξο δὲ τοῖς λίαν ἀρχαίοις καὶ ξένοις τῶν ὀνομάτων καταμιαίνειν τὸ σῶμα τῆς λέξεως. **sensus**: *sentence.* See note ch. 20, 2.

19. tarda et inerti structura: *dragging and sluggish period.* **in morem annalium**: i.e. in the manner of the old annalists such as Cato, Antipater, Piso, Cassius Hemina, whose dry and uncouth style is repeatedly censured by Cicero.

20. fugitet: an extremely rare word. **scurrilitatem**: also condemned by Cicero, but in practice he did not, at least according to modern standards of taste, always conform to his theory, as the speeches, *in Vatinium*, *in Pisonem*, the *Philippics*, and *pro Caelio* may show.

21. clausulas . . . determinet: see the minute directions for the rhythmical ending of a period in Cic. *Orat.* 63, 212 ff. — *Determinet* = *terminet*, cp. note ch. 6, 18.

Chapter 23. **23. rotam Fortunae**: cited from Cic. *in Pis.* 10, 22, *cum illum saltatorium versaret orbem ne tum quidem fortunae rotam pertimescebat*, i.e. while he *wheeled* about in the circular movement of the dance, he not even then dreaded the *wheel* of Fortune. — This symbolical representation is found as early as Pacuvius, p. 104 Rb., and frequently later, the allegory being a very popular one down to the fifteenth century. **ius verrinum**: i.e. either *Verrine justice* or *boar's sauce.* Aper characteristically ignores the fact that Cic. *Verr.* II. 1, 46, 121, expressly disclaims the authorship of this and similar frigid witticisms, which are merely cited to show the contempt with which the Sicilian populace regarded Verres. Quint. VI. 3, 4, probably prompted by Aper's censure, goes out of his way to defend the orator against these unjust attacks.

24. sensu: *sentence.* **pro sententia**: *by way of a reflection.*

25. ēssĕ vĭdĕātŭr: this metrical clausula was sufficiently fre-

quent in Cicero to attract the attention of the ancient critics; e.g. Quint. IX. 4, 73, '*esse videatur*' *iam nimis frequens*, and X. 2, 18 (cited below, l. 26). Aper's assertion is nevertheless an absurd exaggeration. The phrase occurs 86 times in 35 speeches, is wholly wanting in 20, while in about 25 instances it is placed in the middle of the sentence, where its rhythm would remain unnoticed. The rhetorical and philosophical works contain the combination 46 times, of which 26 are found in an early work, the *de oratore*. — The first two instances are given as alleged illustrations of *scurrilitas*, the third as a violation of the precept *nec . . . determinet*.

26. **plura omisi**: e.g. *ut omnia verreret Verres, Verrem . . . aprum Erymanthium*, *Quid Iudaeus* (viz. Caecilius) *cum verre* (Verre). — The jokes of Cicero were eagerly collected in his lifetime, and subsequently published by Tiro, under the title *Ioci Ciceronis*, from which later writers, such as Plutarch and Macrobius, borrowed extensively. **sola mirantur atque exprimunt**: cp. Quint. X. 2. 18, *noveram quosdam qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud caelestis huius in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausula posuissent* '*esse videatur*.' — On the force of *atque*, 'They reproduce these things in consequence of their admiration for them,' see note ch. 4, 14.

27. **antiquos oratores vocitant**: it is not known who these were.

28. **significasse contentus**: on the epexegetic infinitive with *contentus*, see note ch. 18, 30.

29. **Lucilium pro Horatio**: *Lucilius* (180–103 B.C.), the great satiric poet. Quintilian (X. 1, 93 f.) speaks of some admirers who preferred him to all poets whatsoever, an exaggeration ridiculed by Martial, XI. 90. On this reaction in favor of the writers of early Latin, see note ch. 20, 6.

30. **Lucretium pro Vergilio**: a similar predilection is quite general among scholars of to-day. The emperor Hadrian is said by Spartianus, *Vita Hadr.* 16, to have preferred even Ennius to Vergil, Cato to Cicero, and Caelius to Sallust.

31. **eloquentia**: *eloquent style*. Cp. note ch. 5, 6. **Aufidii Bassi**: a historian who died in the reign of Nero. The elder Pliny began his history of the German Wars at the point where Bassus had left off. **Servilii Noniani**: *M. Servilius Nonianus*, a celebrated orator and historian, consul 35, died 59 A.D. Highly praised by T. *Ann.* XIV. 19, and by Quint. X. 1, 102, who mentions him together with Bassus. **ex comparatione** = *prae* is rare and post-Augustan usage.

32. Sisennae: *L. Cornelius Sisenna* (119–67 B.C.) wrote a history of his own times. His style was highly archaic. **Varronis**: *M. Terentius Varro Reatinus* (116–27 B.C.), the greatest scholar whom Rome produced, and one of the most versatile and prolific writers of all times. His historical works — for only these are here referred to, e.g. the *Antiquitatum libri, de vita populi Romani, Rerum urbanarum libri* — are lost, but his extant writings bear ample testimony to his archaic diction. **sordet**: *is held of no account.*

Page 22. **1. commentarios**: drafts of speeches which were subsequently enlarged and elaborated into an artistic oration. We learn from this passage that the summaries of Calvus' orations, whose painstaking care is well attested (Cic. *Brut.* 82, 283), were regarded of sufficient value to merit preservation. T. probably knew them from Mucianus' *Acta*. See note ch. 37, 7. **fastidiunt, oderunt**: the same collocation is found in Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 22. Cp. also T. *Hist.* II. 68, *oderant ut fastiditi.* — The so-called *asydeton bimembre* is not rare in early and pre-Augustan writers, very frequent in T., and a characteristic feature of what is known as African Latin. Cp. e.g. T. *Germ.* 14, *defendere, tueri; Hist.* I. 2, *agerent verterent; Ann.* I. 41, *orant obsistunt, rediret maneret;* XI. 16, *celebrari coli.*

2. fabulantes: *chatting*, used contemptuously for *dicentes* or *agentes*. So again ch. 39, 6.

3. sequuntur: *follow attentively*. No strictly parallel instance seems to exist elsewhere. — Cic. *Brut.* 84, 289, uses similar language of the unpopularity of the Atticists of his time, *non modo a corona . . . sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur.*

4. maesti: like *tristes*, opposed to *laeti*, i.e. devoid of oratorical ornament.

5. ieiunio: in this figurative sense of a desiccated diction the word is ἀπ. εἰρ.

6. valetudinem: here *sound health*, more usually sickness, unless some attributive like *bona, optima*, or *commoda*, is added. In T. again, *Ann.* III. 71. Cp. note ch. 6, 26.

8. laetum et alacrem: a common collocation. In Cic. *pro Mur.* 25, 49, and, as usual, in inverse order, on which see note, ch. 4, 14. — The same antithesis and figurative application of terms is found in Pseudo-Plutarch, Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς 9, καθάπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα οὐ μόνον ὑγιεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεκτικὸν εἶναι χρή καὶ τὸν λόγον ὡσαύτως οὐκ ἄνοσον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔρρωστον εἶναι δεῖ.

9. infirmitas: *indisposition.* — With the thought cp. Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* Prol. 6, *multum interest inter vires et bonam valetudinem.*

10. vos vero, viri, etc.: this apostrophe was probably suggested by Cic. *de orat.* I. 8, 34, *pergite, ut facitis, adulescentes atque in id studium, in quo estis, incumbite.* — The alliteration is perhaps accidental here.

14. sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum: observe the chiasmus, and the symmetrical balancing of clauses throughout Aper's peroration. **electio inventionis**: *such happiness do you display in the choice of subject-matter.*

17. planitas: *perspicuity*, a ἅπ. εἰρ., formed from *planus*, which is often used of style. Cp. note ch. 20, 26.

19. malignitas et invidia, etc.: this collocation, with the synonymous substitutes *malevolentia*, *obtrectatio*, and *livor*, is very frequent. — On the singular predicate, see note ch. 5, 18, and on the device of ending an argument with chiasmus, see note ch. 8, 23. — The sentiment itself is a commonplace. Cp. e.g. Lucret. V. 1125 ff.; Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 10 ff.; Ovid, *Amor.* I. 15, 39, *Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit | Tunc suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos; ex Ponto* III. 4, 474 f., *Scripta placent a morte fere quia laedere vivos Livor . . . solet;* Quint. III. 1, 21, *veniet eorum* (sc. viventium) *laudi suum tempus; ad posteros enim virtus durabit, non perveniet invidia;* and T. *Ann.* IV. 35, *suum cuique decus posteritas rependit.*

Chapters 24–32. After a few general remarks on Aper's speech, Maternus calls upon Messalla to make good his promise to discuss the causes of the decline of eloquence (— ch. 24). Messalla begins with a refutation of Aper's criticisms (— ch. 25), but on being recalled to the main point at issue (— ch. 27), proceeds to show in detail that one of the chief causes of the decline in question must be found in the less thorough training of youth (— ch. 33).

22. vim et ardorem: grouped together also in T. *Agr.* 8; *Hist.* I. 62. **torrente**: impetuous speech is often compared to a rushing stream.

24. vexavit: *attacked.* So ch. 1, 22; 40, 32.

25. spiritu: sc. *usus est*, to be supplied by zeugma out of the *mutuatus est* following. **ipsis . . . ipsos**: with this repetition, cp. Cic. *de fin.* I. 20, 69, *ipsi amici propter se ipsos amentur.*

26. per quae = *quibus*, (instrumental ablative) is exceedingly fre-

quent in T. Cp. also note ch. 19, 11. **27. promissum**: viz. ch. 16, 13.

30. ne ipse quidem ita sentit: see note ch. 15, 31.

Page 23. **1. more vetere,** etc.: the practice known as εἰς ἑκάτερα ἐπιχείρησις, *in utramque partem disputare*, constituted a characteristic feature of the Peripatetics and the New Academy. — **a veteribus philosophis** is added for the sake of nearer definition. See note ch. 1, 15. **saepe celebrato**: pleonastic. So similarly *Agr.* 22, *soliti plerumque.* **igitur**: on the position, cp. note ch. 3, 20.

3. non laudationem, etc.: this statement is quite incompatible with the supposition that ch. 36 ff. are part of the closing speech of Maternus. See *Introd.* p. xxiv.

5. cum praesertim: *and that too, although.* **centum et viginti**: *only* 120 *years.* *Tantum* is invariably omitted before numerals.

6. effici ratio temporum collegerit: *a chronological calculation has shown that we arrive at an interval of.* The somewhat strained expression was occasioned by the quasi-personification of *ratio.* So similarly Plin. *N. H.* II. 23, 88, *Aegyptia ratio . . . triginta tribus stadiis paulo amplius patere colligit.*

Chapter 25. **9. diu** = *pluribus verbis.* See note ch. 11, 11.

11. tamquam: substantive clause explanatory of *nominis controversiam.*

12. centum annos: Messalla dismisses Aper's chronological argument (ch. 16) as unworthy of discussion, and hence is free to use a round number.

14. quo alio . . . nomine: e.g. *veteres, prisci, priores, olim nati.* **dum modo**: occurs in T. only here and *Germ.* 6, *dum* taking its place in his other works. **in confesso**: again ch. 27, 24. Tacitus is fond of such prepositional phrases. Cp. note ch. 18, 4.

16. parti: *passage.* **si cominus fatetur**: *where coming to close quarters he openly acknowledges.* *Si* for the more regular *qua.* So e.g. in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* I. 46, 111; III. 31, 76. — *Cominus*, in keeping with the military expressions preceding (*pugna, repugno*), is similarly used by Cic. *de nat. deor.* II. 10, 26, *levis armaturae prima orationis excursio, nunc cominus agamus.* — *fatetur* = *profitetur*, see note ch. 1, 20. — Messalla sarcastically implies that what Aper had with some flourish adduced (ch. 18, 23) as an original discovery was, after all, but a well-recognized truth.

17. plures = *complures.* The only instance of this confusion in this treatise, though exceedingly common in the other writings of T., as well as elsewhere.

19. primae: sc. *partes.* A very frequent ellipsis. In T. again, *Ann.* XIV. 21, *eloquentiae primas nemo tulit.* **Aeschines,** etc.: the names of the Greek, as well as those of the Roman orators, enumerated immediately below, are not arranged chronologically, but in the order of merit. Tacitus' teacher, Quintilian (X. 1, 76), agrees with this critical estimate; only he omits Lycurgus (died c. 323 B.C.), and discusses Isocrates, who in turn is strangely ignored by T.

21. concessu: for the more usual *consensu.* — This passage confirms the statement made in note ch. 21, 21, that the claims of superiority on behalf of Calvus, spoken of by Quintilian, were made later than the time of the *Dialogus.* **haec oratorum aetas**: by hypallage for *horum oratorum.* Cp. note ch. 2, 3. — The remarkable phenomenon that the greatest orators of Greece, as well as those of Rome, were contemporaries, is dealt with at some length by Vell. Pater. I. 16, 2 f.

25. refert quod: seems to be ἅπ. εἰρ. — Its analogue *interest quod* is also found but once, viz. Traian. *Epist. ad Plin.* 30, 2.

27. adstrictior: *more concise.* Cp. Cic. *Brut.* 82, 283, *nimium inquirens in se* (sc. Calvus) *atque ipse sese observans metuensque ne vitiosum conligeret.* **nervosior**: *more energetic.* The same epithet of style in Cic. *Brut.* 31, 121, *quis Aristotele nervosior.* **splendidior**: *more transparent, clearer.* Cp. Cic. *Brut.* 88, 302, *erat in verborum splendore elegans* (sc. Caesar).

28. amarior: *harsher.* Cp. note ch. 21, 29. **gravior**: *more earnest.* Cp. Cic. *ad Att.* XIV. 1, 2, *Caesarem solitum dicere . . . 'quidquid vult* (sc. Brutus), *valde vult'*; Quint. X. 1, 124, *scias eum sentire quae dicit* (sc. Brutus). **vehementior**: this is said in opposition to Aper's unjust criticism in ch. 22, 6 f. **plenior**: Cicero's fulness of expression, which Aper *l.c.* had also censured, is, in Messalla's judgment, not open to adverse criticism. — Of the orators there enumerated, Messalla omits his namesake and ancestor for obvious reasons.

30. praeferunt = *prae se ferunt.* So T. *Ann.* XIII. 3, and repeatedly in Quintilian.

Page 24. **3. quod,** etc.: *as regards their mutual recriminations and the occurrence of certain remarks.* Cp. ch. 18, 9 ff. — This brachylogical use of *quod* is found in Tac. *Agr.* 34; *Hist.* II. 38; *Ann.* IV. 33.

The earliest extant instance is in Lucret. III. 41. **invicem se** = *inter se*. *Invicem* is generally used without the *se*, and, with but one exception (*Agr*. 6), always in the later works of T.

5. hominum: *human nature*. So also T. *Hist*. IV. 74; *Ann*. I. 61.

6. Asinium: Asinius Pollio, though well known from other sources as a malevolent critic, had not been included by Aper in the passage to which Messalla refers (ch. 18, 10); but this inconsistency, as well as the substitution of Laelius below, l. 12, for Carbo (cp. ch. 18, 20), is doubtless intentional, in order to give an air of spontaneity to an alleged extemporaneous debate.

9. malignitate . . . invidia: *influenced by*. On this causal ablative, see note ch. 19, 12, and on the collocation of these synonyms, ch. 23, 19. **iudicium . . . detexisse**: *revealed his conviction*. Two synonymous adverbs are added to balance the two abstract nouns of opposite meaning, for *simplicitate et ingenuitate* would have made the sentence top-heavy. — This high estimate of Brutus' character, though unanimously held by the ancients and moderns alike, is now known to have been unwarranted.

10. invideret: deliberative subjunctive.

11. quod . . . adtinet: in T. only here and *Agr*. 33, *quantum ad* taking its place.

12. C. Laelium: the style of Laelius is said by Cic. *Brut*. 21, 83, to have been far more harsh than that of his friend Scipio, but less archaic than that of Galba. — On the mention of Laelius, see note ch. 25, 6, the reason there given being here strengthened by the intentionally careless addition of *si quos alios*.

15. nascenti: *growing*. In this sense chiefly in poetry and post-Augustan prose. Cp. e.g. Plin. *Epist*. VIII. 4, 6, *rudia et adhuc similia nascentibus*. **adhuc** = *etiam tum*. Extremely common in T. E.g. *Agr*. 35; *Hist*. I. 31, *incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta*. — With the thought, cp. Cic. *Brut*. 18, 69, *nec vero ignoro nondum satis politum hunc oratorem . . . nihil est enim simul et inventum et perfectum*.

Chapter 26. **16. ceterum** = *sed*. So *Agr*. 37, 40; *Germ*. 2; *Hist*. III. 8.

18. Gracchi impetum: the impetuosity of his oratory, repeatedly attested by the ancients, is still reflected in the fragments that have been preserved. **maturitatem**: *perfection*. The same epithet

is applied to Crassus in Macrob. *Sat.* VI. 16, *maturus . . . qualis Crasso adsignatur*, in a passage which seems like an echo of this one, for he is not elsewhere in extant writers so designated.

19. calamistros: literally, 'curling irons,' 'crisping pins,' here in the sense of *rhetorical flourishes*, and so twice in Cicero, *Orat.* 23 78; *Brut.* 75, 262. — The florid style of Maecenas was ridiculed by Augustus (Sueton. *Octav.* 86), and by Seneca, in the 114th Epistle. **tinnitus**: *jingling style* seems ἅπ. εἰρ. The same figure is found in the Greek, κώδωνες (Pseudo-Longinus Περὶ ὕψους 23, 4). **Gallionis**: *Iunius Gallio*, the intimate friend of Seneca Rhetor and the judge who presided at the trial of St. Paul, was the author of a rhetorical treatise and 'declamations,' the fragments of which are, however, insufficient to prove or disprove Messalla's adverse criticism. He is very favorably mentioned in late writers. — Observe the incongruity of the antithesis, the comparison being in reality made between the general oratorical character of Gracchus and of Crassus, and the stylistic peculiarities of Maecenas and Gallio.

20. hirta toga . . . insignire: similar rhetorical metaphors taken from dress are not rare in Latin. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 75, 262, *ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta.* Cp. note ch. 6, 20. — **Fucatus** is a favorite word of Cicero and always used by him in a figurative sense. — *Insignire* is poetic and post-Augustan.

21. oratorius . . . virilis: see note ch. 5, 6.

22. plerique = *plurimi*, and so immediately below, this being more in keeping with the tone of indignation which pervades this chapter. See note ch. 2, 11.

23. actores = *oratores.* So especially frequent in post-Augustan authors. Cp. *acta* = *orationes*, ch. 37, 7. **lascivia verborum**: *wanton language.*

24. levitate sententiarum: *shallow ideas.* **licentia compositionis**: *lax structure*, with special reference to the requisite prose rhythm. — Observe the alliteration, designed to bring out each indictment into strong relief. Cp. ch. 20, 22; 36, 11 f. — These obnoxious features of contemporary oratory are severely censured also by Quintilian.

25. histrionalis: a Tacitean word, found only here, ch. 29, 21, and *Ann.* I. 16.

26. debeat: consecutive subjunctive. **laudis et gloriae**: a common collocation. Cp. ch. 41, 23; *Hist.* IV. 14; and ch. 7, 11; 18, 18. **loco**: *in place of*, and *as a proof of*, a kind of zeugma, for

with reference to *laudis et gloriae*, *cantari saltarique* is the *cause;* with reference to *ingenii*, one of its external *manifestations.*

27. cantari saltarique: a careful modulation of voice and appropriate gestures were considered essential in an orator's education, but these accomplishments had begun to degenerate, even in Cicero's time, into mere vocal affectation and extravagant gesticulation, and during the Empire their abuse was so general as to call forth the severe censure of men of taste and culture. Cp. e.g. Quint. XI. 3, 57, 181; Plin. *Epist.* II. 14, 12 f. **commentarios**: see note ch. 23, 1.

29. tenere: *lasciviously*, as an epithet of dancing, also in Cic. *in Pison.* 36, 89, *teneris saltatoribus.* — As the arts of eloquence and dancing in the modern school had approached each other so closely, their corresponding epithets had become also interchangeable.

31. nominare ausus est: viz. c. 19, 2.

Page 25. **1. oratorem**: here *genuine* orator. See note on *diserti*, ch. 1, 6.

2. plus bilis, etc.: on the venomous character of his eloquence, see note ch. 19, 2; Sen. *Contr.* III. praef. 4, *iratus commodius dicebat;* 16, *Cassius non continuit bilem;* Quint. X. 1, 117, *plus stomacho quam consilio dedit;* and T. *Ann.* I. 72 calls his writings *procaces.*

3. contempto ordine: this was probably due to his remarkable talent of improvisation, which would naturally render him impatient of the restrictions imposed by a carefully written speech. **omissa modestia ac pudore**: on the singular verb, see note ch. 22, 15. This usage is especially common in ablative absolute constructions; e.g. ch. 26, 10; *Agr.* 28; *Hist.* III. 69; V. 20; and note ch. 5, 18.

4. incompositus: *unskilled.* The figure is taken from fencing. So below *deiectus.* **armis . . . studio**: *in the use of his weapons . . . by reason of his zeal.* For a similar ablative, cp. Quint. IV. 5, 10, *moribus incompositus.*

5. deiectus: *thrown off his balance.* Rarely used absolutely, without the addition of *de statu*, *gradu*, *sede*, or the like. Cp. e.g. Caelius *ap. Cic. ad fam.* VIII. 4, 3; Liv. 38, 35; Tac. *Ann.* II. 4, *Artavasdes . . . deiectus* (sc. *de regno*). — With the thought, cp. Quint. IV. 2, 26, *ut in armorum ratione antiquior cavendi quam ictum inferendi cura est.* **non pugnat sed rixatur**: *pugna* is a battle in which the combatants are properly trained; *rixa* is an ordinary quarrel that comes to blows. Cp. the utterance of Severus himself, preserved by Sen. *Contr.* III. *praef.* 13, *totum aliud est pugnare,*

aliud ventilare. Fronto, *Epist.* p. 114 N. applies the identical criticism to Calvus.

6. ceterum: *but to return to Severus.* This resumptive use of the particle occurs repeatedly in T.; e.g. *Germ.* 43, *Harios . . . ceterum Harii; Ann.* II. 34, *Urgulania . . . ceterum Urgulania.* **sequentibus . . . ceteros**: the two terms refer to the same persons, the orators of the imperial age. The tautology was apparently occasioned by the necessity of joining an accusative with *superat.*

7. varietate eruditionis: *varied culture.* **lepore urbanitatis**: *charming wit. Urbanitatis* is superfluous, but was added for the sake of libration of clauses. — The wit of Severus, in spite of its occasional bitterness and scurrility, was of a very high order, as we learn from Seneca Rhetor and Quintilian.

8. virium robore: *intellectual power;* for *virium* is here used in the sense of *mental forces*, in keeping with the military metaphors accumulated throughout this paragraph.

9. sustinuit: *could bring himself to*, like the Homeric τλῆναι. The construction with the infinitive seems to occur first in Cic. *in Verr.* II. 1, 4. In T. only here and *Hist.* I. 37.

10. expectabam ut: for the more usual *dum* (ch. 19, 14; *Ann.* XI. 26). So again *Hist.* I. 33. **incusato**: on the singular, cp. notes ch. 22, 15.

12. Ciceroni . . . Caesari: here Caesar, by being excluded from the orators enumerated in the *incusato* clause, is somewhat inconsistently with ch. 25, 22 ff., put on a level with Cicero himself, both together thus representing the *two* greatest orators of the Republic.

13. nunc: *instead; now, however*, an extremely common use of the word in T. and elsewhere, the temporal meaning being practically lost sight of.

14. contentus: with epexegetic infinitive. See ch. 18, 30.

15. in publicum: *in a general way*, synonymous with *in universum* (e.g. *Germ.* 6) and *in commune.* In T. only here and *Ann.* XIII. 56. **in commune**: *in an ordinary way.* Post-Augustan usage, and especially frequent in Seneca and T. — For the antithesis with *nominatim*, cp. Liv. IX. 26, 8, *non nominatim sed in universum.*

16. multos offenderet, etc.: modelled upon Cic. *Brut.* 65, 231, '*vereri te*,' *inquit*, '*arbitror*,' *ne . . . ei tibi succenseant quos praeterieris.*

17. scholasticorum: contemptuously for rhetoricians. See note ch. 15, 6.

18. persuasione fruitur: *cherish the conviction, fancy.* So Quint.

XI. 3, 11, *persuasione sua fruantur.* In this sense the noun is post-Augustan. **ante . . . post**: *superior . . . inferior to.* Also chiefly post-Augustan usage, and very common in T. Both combined, as here, in Sen. *Epist.* 104, 9, *ut nemo tibi post videatur, si aliquis ante te fuerit.* **numeret**: *consider himself*, a rare meaning of the verb. So in Sil. Ital. *Pun.* XV. 747, *ante omnes bello numerandus Hamilcar;* and T. *Hist.* II. 77, *ne post Valentem . . . numeremur.*

19. plane = *nimirum,* said derisively. So T. *Ann.* I. 26, *novum id plane.* For a different sense, see note ch. 27, 26. **Gabinianum**: an older contemporary of Quintilian, and, like Aper, Secundus, and Maternus, a native of Gaul. His eloquence is highly praised by St. Jerome, for he couples his name with Cicero and Quintilian. — An excellent illustration of this perverted taste and exaggerated estimate of modern rhetoricians is furnished by Sen. *Contr.* III. praef. 14–17, *dixi* (sc. Severus) *molestum me amplius non futurum, si iurasset* (sc. the boastful rhetorician Cestius) *disertiorem esse Ciceronem quam se. nec hoc ut faceret vel ioco vel serio effici potuit.* **non verebor**: *shall not hesitate.* In this sense very rare. Cp. Prop. I. 14, 23, *non ulla verebor Regia vel Alcinoi munera despicere;* and note ch. 13, 28, *timuerim.*

21. fracta . . . deminuta: these synonyms are often combined.

Chapter 27. **22. parce**: *let that pass.*

25. dixisti: viz. ch. 15, 2 ff.

26. plane: here *clearly, decidedly,* and so ch. 35, 10, in a very similarly constructed sentence. Cp. also note ch. 26, 19. **mitior** = *cum mitior esses.* Cp. note ch. 5, 17.

27. maiores tuos: viz. *antiquos oratores* (cp. ch. 25, 13), for Messalla was the only native Roman in the company. See *Introd.* p. xxix.

30. si quid forte . . . perstringat: *if aught perchance grate upon your ears.* So similarly ch. 9, 29. Hor. *Od.* II. 1, 18, *perstringis aures.* — *si forte* with the subjunctive in T. again ch. 32, 15; *Hist.* III. 66.

Page 26. **1. hanc . . . legem**: in this phrase T. again very clearly reveals, though unintentionally, the purely literary origin of the Dialogue. Cp. note *Introd.* p. xxxi.

2. iudicium . . . proferre: *to give expression to one's conviction without hurting another's feelings.* Cp. Alcibiades in Plat. *Protag.* 336 D, χρὴ γὰρ ἕκαστον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι. **citra** =

sine. Very common in post-Augustan authors, but in T. only in the minor writings. Cp. ch. 41, 27; *Agr.* 1; *Germ.* 16.

4. utere antiqua libertate: this passage possesses a genuine Tacitean flavor. Cp. e.g. *Agr.* 2 f., *sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute; Ann.* I. 74, *manebant etiam tum* (15 A.D.) *vestigia morientis libertatis;* and esp. the introduction to *Hist.* I. 1, *rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.*

Chapter 28. **7. aut . . . aut . . . vel**: unlike ch. 15, 30, where each interlocutor is individually mentioned (*aut . . . aut . . . aut*), Maternus is here singled out as the one immediately addressed, Aper and Secundus forming the other group, in turn subdivided by *vel.* For a parallel construction, see note ch. 5, 18.

8. etiam si, etc.: by a peculiar classic idiom, the principal fact, here introduced by *etiam si* (so *Hist.* I. 15; *Ann.* II. 73; IV. 21, 29) is subordinated, i.e. 'although these causes are not unknown to you, you ask me to voice the opinion of us all.' In reality, Messalla had only been asked to state *his* reasons, but the fact of the decline being now 'ex hypothesi' taken for granted, Messalla thus modestly disclaims originality of research, while at the same time he forestalls consent to his conclusions. — The opening paragraph is, perhaps, modelled upon Cic. *de orat.* III. 37, 148, *Tum Crassus, 'pervulgatas res requiris' inquit 'et tibi non incognitas, Sulpici'; de rep.* I. 46, 70, *ingrediar in ea quae nota sunt omnibus . . . quoniam ea quae tenebatis ipsi, etiam ex me audire voluistis.*

11. inopia hominum: *incapacity.* In this sense, e.g. Cic. *ad Att.* I. 16, 2, *contraxi vela perspiciens inopiam iudicum; Orat.* 68, 229, *magistrorum inopia aut ingeni tarditate.* **desidia . . . antiqui**: this careful synopsis of the topics to be discussed is quite incompatible with the assumption that the Dialogus represents the *bona fide* reproduction of a historical debate. Cp. Aper's prefatory outline of his speech in ch. 5, 9 ff. and *Introd.* p. xxxi. **neglegentia parentum**: this is often given among the causes of moral degeneration in the Empire. Iuvenal, Sat. XIV, is devoted to the same theme.

12. inscientia praecipientium: this subject is dealt with at length by Quint. I. 1, 8; XII. 11, 14, and in perfect agreement with T. **oblivione moris antiqui**: no writer dwells upon this topic with greater frequency and emphasis than T.

13. quae mala, etc.: the greater moral purity of the provinces, as

compared with the degeneracy of Rome, is frequently alluded to. Cp. e.g. T. *Ann.* III. 55, *novi homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum adsumpti domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt;* XVI. 5, *qui remotis e municipiis severaque adhuc et antiqui moris retinente Italia, quique per longinquas provincias lascivia inexperti;* Suet. *de gramm.* 21, *in provincia . . . durante adhuc ibi antiquorum memoria, necdum omnino abolita sicut Romae.* **primum . . . mox**: this correlation is more common in T. than in any other writer.

14. manant: the same metaphor, though not elsewhere in T., is frequent in Cicero and Livy. — The observation that moral and intellectual development are interdependent is alluded to by Quint. XII. 2, 6, and elaborated with special reference to the decline of oratory in Sen. *Epist.* 114. **quamquam**: *of course, to be sure.* A common meaning at the beginning of a sentence. In T. again, ch. 33, 6; *Germ.* 17; and *Ann.* XII. 65.

15. vestra, etc.: this passage proves that the interlocutors, with the exception of Messalla, were not native Romans. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxv. **his**: i.e. *nostris.* See note ch. 7, 17. **vernaculis**: *verna* was a slave born in the master's house, and hence *vernaculus* came to mean *native* with special reference to Rome. Cp. T. *Hist.* II. 88, *vernacula utebantur urbanitate*, where the term, strictly speaking, is also tautological, but the original meaning had been forgotten by this time.

16. vitiis: personified as in Ovid, *Amor.* III. 4, 11, *vitia inritare vetando.* **natos** = *liberos* is a poetic word, and in pre-Augustan prose always joined to *parentes, maritus, viri*, and the like. Observe also that well-nigh all the Latin designations for 'children' occur in this and the following chapter, *nati, liberi, filius, suboles, pueri, infans, parvuli.* Besides these, T. also uses *pignora* and *puerperia.*

17. cumulantur: the figure contained in *quae . . . excipiunt* is herewith abandoned. So similarly ch. 10, 18; 32, 2 f. **si prius . . . praedixero**: on this pleonasm, see note ch. 18, 24. **severitate ac disciplina**: hendiadys, as shown by *severitate disciplinae* (ch. 29, 28; *Hist.* I. 51) and *severissima (severa) disciplina* in ch. 40, 13; *Ann.* VI. 15. The same collocation below, l. 4 (p. 27); *Germ.* 25.

18. circa educandos . . . liberos: a substantive with gerundive, when governed by a preposition, serves as a substitute for an abstract noun (*educatio, formatio*). In T. the idiom is quite common with *ad*, occurs once with *ob* (*Ann.* XI. 5), but with *circa* only here.

20. pridem: *formerly.* In this sense not elsewhere in T.

21. in gremio . . . educabatur: the emphasis here laid upon the mother's own nursing finds a significant echo in later utterances of T. Cp. *Agr.* 4, *mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis: in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus; Germ.* 20, *sua quemque mater alit nec aut ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur.* — On Chrysippus' treatise περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς, as a probable source of the following exposition, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

24. probatis spectatisque: a metaphor derived from the testing of metals or of coins. The same collocation, also with ὕστερον πρότερον, in Lucilius, *frag.* XXVI, 95 M. *probatam mi et spectatam maxime adulescentiam.*

25. qua: sc. *propinqua.* **neque dicere fas**, etc.: this antithesis is very common, both in Greek and Latin. The earliest extant occurrence of the precept itself seems to be Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1409, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐδᾶν ἔσθ' ἃ μηδὲ δρᾶν καλόν.

27. curasque: *school exercises.*

28. remissiones . . . lususque: cp. the remarkable parallel utterances of Quint. I. 3, 8, *danda est tamen omnibus aliqua remissis . . . quia nulla res est quae perferre possit continuum laborem;* Pseudo-Plut. περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς 13, Δοτέον οὖν τοῖς παισὶν ἀναπνοὴν τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων. πᾶς ὁ βίος ἡμῶν εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ σπουδὴν διῄρηται; and Sen. *de tranq.* 17, 4 f. — Both these words are combined also in T. *Agr.* 9, *tempora curarum remissionumque divisa.*

Page 27. **1. temperabat**: sc. *mater*, to be supplied from the context. So similarly ch. 9, 16, *refert*, sc. Bassus, who remains uppermost in the mind of the speaker, as *mater* here, although a different subject precedes. **Corneliam Gracchorum**: the formative influence exerted upon her children is attested also by Cic. *Brut.* 27, 104; 58, 211; *Quint.* I. 1, 6; and Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 1.

2. Aureliam Caesaris: she is distinguished by Plut. *Caes.* 9, by the epithet σώφρων. Cp. also Suet. *Caes.* 74. **Atia**: daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Caesar's sister, Iulia.

3. educationibus: the plural again occurs in T. *Ann.* III. 25, and once in very late Latin. **produxisse** = *educavisse* is very rare. **principes**: *noble.* So ch. 40, 3; *Ann.* III. 6; IV. 15; XIII. 42. Observe that *princeps* is originally an adjective, the attributive use of substantives in T., with the exception of *Germ.* 14. 39, being confined to the historical works.

5. sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta: *sincerus* and *integer*, with the third member amplified (*oratio trimembris*), a device highly characteristic of Tacitean style, again occurs *Hist.* IV. 64, *sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus.* — On *et* before a negative, see note ch. 12, 7. — The plural of *pravitas* again *Ann.* III. 34.

7. militarem rem: elsewhere in T. (*Hist.* I. 84; *Ann.* XI. 22), *militaris* follows *res.* It is here, however, equivalent to *militiae*, and is thus for the sake of stylistic libration with *iuris*, *eloquentiae* made to precede its noun. For the assonance, cp. note ch. 12, 21.

8. inclinasset: subjunctive by attraction, with *ageret*, *hauriret.* See note ch. 1, 18.

9. hauriret: common in T. in this figurative sense. So ch. 30, 18; 31, 6; *Agr.* 4; *Hist.* I. 51; IV. 5.

Chapter 29. **10. natus infans**: *child, while yet speechless. Natus*, as its position and the statement *fabulis . . . statim*, etc., indicate, is here the noun, *not* the participle; *infans* (= *cum sit adhuc infans*), on which see note ch. 5, 17, is used predicatively. **delegatur**: a strong expression for *committitur.* So *Germ.* 20 (cited l. 21). Parents, Messalla implies, rid themselves of the duty they owe to their children as of an irksome burden. **Graeculae**: *good-for-nothing Greek.* The diminutive, as usual in this word, expresses contempt. Cp. ch. 3, 10.

11. unus aut alter: *aut* is used, because only *one* slave, the paedagogus, is referred to. Cp. note ch. 9, 14.

12. cuiquam serio ministerio: *quisquam* as an adjective, modifying an impersonal noun, only here in T., but with a personal substantive in *Ann.* IV. 11; XIV. 21. — On the complaint itself, cp. the all but identical passage in Pseudo-Plut., Περὶ παίδ. ἀγωγῆς 7, *ἐπεὶ νῦν γε τὸ γινόμενον . . . ὅτι δ᾽ἂν εὕρωσιν ἀνδράποδον, οἰνόληπτον καὶ λίχνον πρὸς πᾶσαν πραγματείαν ἄχρηστον τούτῳ φέροντες ὑποβάλλουσι τοὺς υἱούς.*

13. fabulis: *nursery tales.* In Greek, *τιτθῶν μῦθοι.* On their injurious influence, see e.g. Plat. *Rep.* II. 377 C, D; Pseudo-Plut. *l.c.* 5 extr. **erroribus**: *superstitions.* Cp. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.* 23, *has fabulas et errores ab imperitis parentibus discimus.* **virides**: *pliable.* Cp. Pseudo-Plut. *l.c.* 5, *εὔπλαστον γὰρ καὶ ὑγρὸν* (= *virides*) *ἡ νεότης καὶ ταῖς τούτων ψυχαῖς ἁπαλαῖς* (= *teneri animi*) *ἔτι τὰ μαθήματα ἐντήκεται* (= *imbuuntur*). Similar utterances are found e.g. in Sen. *Dial.* XII. 18, 8; Quint. I. 1, 4; and esp. Minuc. Felix, *Octav.* 23, 8, *huius*

modi figmentis . . . corrumpuntur ingenia puerorum . . . et in isdem opinionibus miseri consenescunt.

15. pensi habet: this phrase is always used with a negative, the omission of the neuter pronoun being post-Augustan. In T. again, *Hist.* I. 46; *Ann.* XIII. 15. — With the thought, cp. the beautiful passage in Quint. I. 2, 6, *utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus . . . discunt haec miseri antequam sciant vitia esse.*

16. probitati . . . modestiae: *decorous and modest behavior.* Combined in ch. 40, 6; *Germ.* 36; *Ann.* XIV. 15. See also note ch. 5, 20.

17. lasciviae et dicacitati: *naughty and smart conduct. Lascivia*, in a bad sense, is chiefly post-Augustan, and, with but three exceptions out of thirty-two instances, always so in T. As *lascivia* and *dicacitas* are clearly intended as a balanced antithesis of *probitas* and *modestia*, *dicacitas* must here be likewise understood in a bad sense, although seemingly not elsewhere so used. Our *smartness* is equally susceptible of both significations.

18. per quae: T. furnishes numerous examples of a neuter plural agreeing with two or more abstract nouns. On the use of *per*, see note ch. 19, 11. **impudentia inrepit**: the same phrase occurs in Plin. *Epist.* III. 20, 8. — *Impudentia* is here, and again ch. 35, 31, regarded as the ultimate outcome of such improper training.

21. histrionalis favor = *histrionum favor, passion for the theatre.* Tacitus is fond of using an adj. in place of an objective genitive. E.g. *Hist.* II. 82, *militarem largitionem; Ann.* XII. 51, *ob metum hostilem.* — It may be noted that no Roman author comments more frequently and bitterly upon these and like topics than T.

22. occupatus et obsessus animus: *when the mind is taken up by such occupations.* This use of a perfect passive, more rarely a present active, participle in place of an abstract noun is a highly characteristic feature of Tacitean style. Cp. e.g. ch. 37, 27; *Agr.* 45, *acerbitas parentis erepti; Hist.* II. 76, *trucidatus Corbulo; Ann.* I. 8, *occisus dictator Caesar;* XII. 5, *deductae filiae.* — The same collocation occurs e.g. Cic. *de leg.* III. 8, 19, *occupatis et obsessis urbis locis;* Sen. *Epist.* 19, 11, *occupatus homo et bonis suis obsessus.* — On the thought, cp. Quint. XII. 1, 6, *dati spectaculis dies multum studiis auferunt.*

24. quos alios, etc.: so similarly Liban. I. 200, 3, *πολλὰ μὲν νεύματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἡνιόχων καὶ μίμων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὀρχηστῶν*, and even Cic. *de orat.* II. 5, 21, *hoc ipso tempore cum omnia gymnasia*

philosophi teneant, tamen eorum auditores discum audire quam philosophum malunt. **aliud loquatur**: for the more usual abl. with *de*. So again *Ann.* XVI. 22, *nunc te, Nero . . . civitas loquitur.* On the force of such constructions, see note ch. 2, 4.

26. nec . . . quidem = *et ne . . . quidem*. So again ch. 40, 14.

28. experimento: *by giving a proof of.* This is the usual meaning of the word in T. See note ch. 22, 3.

29. ambitione: *servility.* This word and *adulatio* are found combined also in *Hist.* I. 1, and *Ann.* XIV. 29.

Page 28. Chapter 30. 1. transeo = *ut transeam*. Similar paratactic constructions are not rare. Cp. e.g. Cic. *pro Sestio* 24, 54, *omitto gratulationes . . . vexabatur; de sen.* 15, 52, *omitto vim ipsam . . . nonne ea efficiunt.* **et ipsis**: *likewise, equally.* An idiom very common in post-Augustan Latin, but, barring Livy, extremely rare in earlier writers. Cp. e.g. Cic. *pro Caec.* 20, 58; Prop. III. (IV.) 7, 36. In T. it occurs thirteen times.

2. auctoribus = *scriptoribus* is first met with in Seneca, thereafter frequently.

3. in evolvenda antiquitate: *unrolling the pages of the past.* The same metaphor occurs in Sen. *Dial.* VIII. 5, 2, *antiquitates evolvere.* — The necessity of a knowledge of history on the part of the orator is strongly insisted upon by Cicero, e.g. *de orat.* I. 5, 18; 60, 256; and Quint. X. 1, 34. **in notitia . . . insumitur**: *in notitia* for the regular dative was due to the author's desire for formal symmetry (*nec in . . . nec in . . . nec in*). **rerum**: the so-called exact sciences. Cp. *rerum motus causasque* (l. 25).

4. hominum: philosophy, more especially ethics, thus corresponding to *morales partes* (l. 25). **temporum**: as distinguished from *antiquitas*, refers to contemporary history, law, and politics. A knowledge of all these subjects, together with music and dialectics, constituted the true *orbis doctrinae*, ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία.

5. rhetoras: the phrase implies that these alleged corrupters of youth arrogated a Greek name to themselves which, unlike σοφισταί, designated an honorable calling. Possibly the Greek accusative was used to draw attention to this fact, for *rhetoras* occurs again in ch. 35, 8, and in the very censor's edict (see note ch. 35, 30) alluded to in both of the *Dialogus* passages, T. elsewhere habitually avoiding Greek endings, except in proper names. **professio**: in the sense

of *profession*, the word is post-Augustan. **quando primum**, etc.: see note ch. 35, 30.

10. labor . . . meditatio . . . exercitationes: cp. note ch. 16, 12. — On the *oratio trimembris*, amplified in the third member, see *Introd.* p. xvii.

13. cuius extrema parte: the reference is to *Brut.* 89, 305 — 92, 316. The following contains numerous verbal coincidences with this work which can leave no doubt as to Tacitus' direct indebtedness, even if it had not been directly quoted.

14. habet = *continet* seems to be extremely rare. Cp. e.g. Cic. *ad Att.* V. 21, 5; Ovid, *Trist.* II. 422; Quint. X. 1, 70; and in T. *Ann.* IV. 34, *falsa quidem . . . habent* (sc. *Antoni epistulae*, *Bruti contiones*). **sua . . . suos . . . suae**: the anaphora serves the purpose of bringing out each topic with special distinctness.

15. educationem: *development.* In this sense the word is very unusual, e.g. Cic. *de fin.* V. 14, 39. Hence the apologetic particles *velut quandam* are added. **se . . . didicisse**: the acc. with inf. is governed by *dicit enim* understood, for *refert* is already supplied with an object. On this ellipsis, characteristic of T., see note ch. 10, 1.

16. Q. Mucium: *Q. Mucius Scaevola Augur* (c. 159–c. 88 B.C.) was, like his more famous namesake and nephew, the pontifex, distinguished for his legal attainments. The reference is to *Brut.* 89, 306. **Philonem Academicum**: a noted philosopher of the New Academy, whom Cicero heard at Rome. Cp. *Brut. l.c.; Tusc. Disp.* II. 3, 9, and Plut. *Cic.* 3.

17. Diodotum Stoicum: for many years an inmate of Cicero's house. He died there in 59 B.C. He instructed Cicero in dialectics. Cp. *Brut.* 90, 309; *Acad. Prior.* 36, 115; *Tusc. Disp.* V. 39, 113. **omnes philosophiae partes**: i.e. Ethics, Physics, and Logic, the latter being subdivided into Dialectics and Rhetoric. This classification, evidently followed below (ll. 24 f.), is post-Platonic and Stoic.

18. doctoribus contentum: the expression is taken from *Brut.* 91, 316, *quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni.* A very similar statement is made about Plato by Quint. I. 12, 15.

19. copia in urbe contigerat: of the many Greek scholars (for these are meant by *doctores*) in Rome at the time of Cicero's youth, may be mentioned Alexander Polyhistor, Epicadus, Ateius Praetextatus, Staberius, Eros, Gniphon, Sarpedon, Nicias Cous, Tyrannio, Apollonius, Andronicus. — On the use of the indicative in indirect

discourse, see note ch. 17, 3. The statement is a parenthetical remark of Messalla, not based upon information taken from the *Brutus*. **Achaiam**: i.e. the Roman province Achaia, which included Attica. Outside of Athens, Cicero studied in no other city of Greece proper.

20. Asiam peragrasse: i.e. the province of Asia or Asia Minor. Cp. Cic. *Brut.* 91, 315, *post a me tota Asia peragrata est.* **omnium artium**: of the nine liberal arts enumerated by Varro, *five* are here expressly mentioned, *two*, rhetoric and astrology (astronomy), — the latter is included in *rerum motus causasque*, — clearly implied, while the remaining *artes*, medicine and architecture, are for obvious reasons omitted. — With the fulness of expression, cp. Cic. *de orat.* III. 19, 72, *omnem omnium rerum . . . scientiam cum dicendi ratione iungebant*, and ch. 6, 13.

21. itaque hercule . . . possit: observe the consummate art with which the author, by the use of emphatic exclamation, anaphora, epanalepsis, climax, libration of clauses and synonymous collocations, succeeds in reflecting stylistically the warmth of feeling which animates the speaker in this closing part of his argument, although the entire paragraph is largely based upon Cicero. — The necessity of acquiring so encyclopedic a knowledge is constantly inculcated by Cicero and Quintilian.

26. ita est . . . ita est: an instance of the figure called *epanalepsis*. Cp. Cic. *in Verr.* II. 4, 52, 117, *est ita, iudices, est ita;* and particularly frequently in Demosthenes, e.g. *de cor.* 24, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν; 306, ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστι.

27. ex multa eruditione . . . scientia: observe the climax. So again ch. 32, 21, 28; 33, 8; 34, 24; *Agr.* 41; *Hist.* II. 32; IV. 74.

28. exundat et exuberat: these words are used in a figurative sense also in T. *Ann.* III. 72, *exundantes opes*, and XIV. 53, *exuberat* (sc. *animus*). Cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 6, 20, *ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio.* **admirabilis**: Cicero repeatedly contends that *admiratio* should be the orator's ultimate aim. In applying this epithet, therefore, to Cicero himself, T. not only endorses his view, but at the same time pays a neat compliment to his genius.

29. rerum = *artium.* So very often, and as early as Pacuvius, cited ch. 32, 1. **vis** and **facultas** is a common collocation, e.g. Cic. *de orat.* I. 31, 142; Quint. XII. 1, 33. **angustis et brevibus**: combined also T. *Germ.* 6.

30. cluditur = *clauditur.* Tacitus seems to prefer the 'u' form in the present tense, but elsewhere the diphthong.

Page 29. **1. pulchre**: *nobly*, explained by *pro dignitate rerum.* **ornate**: pertains to the formal side of a speech which should give aesthetic pleasure — *cum voluptate audientium.* **apte dicere**: calls for a treatment of the subject in agreement with the exigencies of the occasion — *ad utilitatem temporum.*

Chapter 31. **5. opus esse ut**: formed on the analogy of *necesse est ut*, like *sufficere ut* (ch. 32, 13), is found in T. only in the *Dialogus.*

6. fictis . . . controversiis: many such 'moot cases' have come down to us in Seneca's *Controversiae* and in the *Declamationes* of Pseudo-Quintilian and Calpurnius. See also ch. 35, 12 ff.

9. de bonis et malis, etc.: cp. Sen. *Epist.* 95, 58, *continent vitam, bona et mala, honesta et turpia, iusta et iniusta.* These ethical topics formed the subject of discussion in the *genus deliberativum* referred to immediately below.

10. oratori subiecta . . . materia: a Ciceronian phrase, but without the pleonastic *ad dicendum.*

11. in iudiciis, etc.: the three categories to one of which a speech had to belong, viz. the *genus iudiciale* (δικανικόν), *g. deliberativum* (συμβουλευτικόν), and *g. demonstrativum* (ἐπιδεικτικόν). **de aequitate**, etc. correspond respectively to the *de iusto et iniusto*, *de bonis et malis*, and *de honesto et turpi.* **fere**: *chiefly*, belongs to *disserimus.* In this sense, *ferme*, which takes the place of *fere* in the later writings of T., is not uncommon. — The entire passage is closely modelled upon Cic. *de orat.* I. 31, 141.

13. plerumque: *very often.* **misceantur**: questions of justice, of expediency, and of moral conduct cannot, however, owing to their close interrelation, be rigidly confined to their respective *genera dicendi.* The same thought is elaborated by Quint. III. 4, 16, *stant enim quodammodo mutuis auxiliis omnia.*

15. vim: *meaning*, = Greek δύναμις, synonymous with *intellectus.*

16. pravitatem vitiorum: the phrase is not strictly antithetical to *vim virtutum*, *pravitatem* being added solely for the sake of the libration of clauses. **intellectum**: sc. *cognovit.* Cp. the parallel construction in ch. 17, 6, *referas . . . respectum.* The expression in both cases closely approaches the *figura etymologica*, on which see note ch. 22, 12. **virtutibus nec in vitiis**: i.e. the so-called ἀδιάφορα of the Stoics, or *indifferentia*, as Cicero translated the term. — This passage again is modelled upon Cicero, esp. *de orat.* I. 12, 53.

22. **versatus**: *trained in, conversant with.* **cupidos**: *biassed.*

24. **dicendum habuerit**: *shall have to speak.* On this construction, see note ch. 8, 1. **tenebit venas**, etc.: i.e. the orator should, like a skilful physician, after diagnosing the psychical condition of his hearers, apply such remedies (*adhibebit*, etc.) from out his well-stocked (*parato*, etc.) and ever-available (*ad omnem usum*) rhetorical storehouse as will establish the necessary good will between him and his hearers. On the metaphor, see note ch. 21, 18.

25. **cuiusque**: sc. *auditoris* or *iudicis.* Cp. Quint. XII. 10, 56, *id quoque plurimum refert, quo modo audire iudex velit.* This opinion, shared also by Cicero, is apparently repudiated by Aper, ch. 6, 19.

27. **sunt apud quos . . . meretur**: the indicative after *sunt qui* occurs in T. only here and *Agr.* 28, *fuere quos . . . illustravit.* The speaker has a very *definite* class of hearers in mind. **adstrictum et collectum**: *concise and succinct.* The metaphor is taken from the folding of a dress. Cp. note ch. 6, 20, and ch. 39, 6. *Collectum* is very rare in a figurative sense; e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 100, 11. — On the *oratio trimembris*, cp. *Introd.* p. xvii.

28. **concludens**: to draw rapid conclusions, free from intricate and lengthy syllogistic reasoning.

29. **dedisse . . . proficiet**: sc. *oratori.* On the perfect infinitive, see note ch. 18, 30. **dialecticae**: sc. *Stoicorum*, for it was chiefly this school which practised the *adstrictum genus dicendi.* Cp. Cic. *Brut.* 25, 94, *ille adstrictior, fuit enim doctus ex disciplina Stoicorum;* 31, 120, *ut Stoicorum adstrictior est oratio . . . contractior . . . sic illorum* (sc. Peripateticorum) *liberior et latior.*

30. **fusa et aequalis**: *smoothly and steadily.* **communibus ducta sensibus oratio**: reflections drawn from the common experience of mankind. On the order of the words, cp. note ch. 12, 7.

Page 30. 1. **locos**: *τόποι, lines of argument.* Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 14, 46, *locos — sic enim appellat* (sc. Aristoteles) — *quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnis in utramque partem traheretur oratio.* — Observe the stylistic balance of these clauses: *sunt apud quos* : *apud hos* :: *alios* : *ad hos*, with an *oratio trimembris* in each, and amplified in the third member. (a : b : c .·. a : b : c.) Cp. *Introd.* p. xvii. **Academici pugnacitatem**: see note ch. 24, 1. — *pugnacitas* is a post-Augustan word.

2. **Plato altitudinem**: in their enthusiastic admiration of Plato's

style, barring a few isolated protests of Dionysius and Caecilius, the ancients are unanimous. — On *altitudo* = *sublimitas*, cp. note ch. 21, 31. **Xenophon iucunditatem** : the same term is applied to X. by Quint. X. 1, 82. He was called the Attic bee or Muse, and similar glowing comments on the charm of his style abound in Cicero and other ancient critics.

3. Epicuri : of Samos, born 342/1, died 270 B.C. **Metrodori** : his favorite disciple, called by Cic. *de fin.* II. 28, 92, *paene alter Epicurus*, was born at Lampsacus 329, died 277 B.C. **honestas . . . exclamationes** : a reference to the pithy moral maxims of Epicurus, styled προσφωνήσεις or ἀνακραυγάσματα ἱερὰ, of which latter the above phrase seems to be a translation. — At this time Epicurean writings were no longer, as in the days of Cicero, regarded as superfluous in the educational equipment of an orator, and T. himself calls the Epicureans *sapientissimi veterum* (*Ann.* VI. 22).

5. neque enim sapientem, etc. : the orator, Messalla contends, need not be a professional philosopher (*sapiens*), or lose himself in the dialectical subtleties of the Stoics, but he should completely master some branches of study (*haurire*), while adequately conversant with them all. In this plea for a liberal education, by the side of strictly professional training, T. again echoes the sentiments of Cicero, e.g. *de orat.* I. 50, 217 f.

7. libare : common in this figurative sense, but not elsewhere in T. — Observe the different terms for scientific knowledge, on the one hand (*haurire*, *comprehendebant*, *scientia*), and superficial acquisition, on the other (*libare*, *imbuebantur*, *notitia*). **ideoque** = *itaque*. In T. only here and *Germ.* 26. — *Que* joins an entire clause, as e.g. in ch. 6, 6 ; 32, 19 ; and frequently in the other writings of T.

9. incidunt enim causae, etc. : *for occasions may arise in which a superficial acquaintance with the law will be all that is required, and this, indeed, will generally, if not always, be the case ; but in other instances a profound knowledge of the subjects mentioned will also be called for.*

10. quibus . . . in quibus : the law pertains to the case as a whole ; a knowledge of music, etc., only to particular parts. Cp. note ch. 21, 17.

11. haec . . . scientia = *harum artium scientia*. A very common brachylogy. In T., e.g. *Agr.* 18, *eo* (= *eius rei*) *initio* ; 22, *qua* (= *cuius cladis*) *formidine.*

Chapter 32. **13. sufficere ut**: cp. note ch. 31, 5. **ad tempus**: *for an emergency.*

14. simplex: *superficial.* **uniforme**: *simple.* In this sense, apparently, not found elsewhere, except in late Latin.

15. longe: a poetic and post-Augustan substitute for *multum*, *multo.* In T. again, ch. 33, 29, 13; *Germ.* 8; *Ann.* IV. 40; XII. 2.

16. possideat . . . an mutuetur: the ellipsis of *utrum* in indirect questions is characteristic of Tacitean style. — The truth of the aphorism is well illustrated by the *Dialogus* itself, which, in spite of palpable indebtedness to Cicero and others, has yet preserved a very high degree of originality.

18. aliud agentes: i.e. genuine culture will manifest itself, even where the orator is not consciously availing himself of it. The same phrase occurs *Agr.* 43, *hic aliud agens populus.* **eminet et excellit**: these synonyms, frequently grouped elsewhere, are joined by *et*, and, as the result of *ornat*, joined to it by *atque.* See ch. 17, 16, and note ch. 4, 14.

21. legitime: *properly.* In this sense often in the elder Pliny, once in Iuv. XII. 100, but seemingly not elsewhere so used. **per . . . numeros isse**: on this use of *per*, see note ch. 19, 11. — The figure is taken from the fencing school. Cp. note ch. 26, 5. **ut . . . ut . . . ut denique**: with the anaphora, cp. ch. 9, 2 f. 30, 22; 38, 23 f.; and on the climax, ch. 30, 27.

22. oratorem: sc. *eum.* The ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun in these and like constructions is exceedingly frequent in T. Cp. e.g. ch. 5, 8, *studium;* 17, 15, *oratores;* 37, 25, *orationes; Agr.* 11, *habitum; Hist.* I. 72, *ignaro; Ann.* II. 82, *relegatum;* XV. 20, *depellendum.* — On the *a fortiori* use of the word *orator*, see note ch. 1, 7.

24. armis instructus . . . artibus armatus: the slightly mixed metaphor was due to Tacitus' desire to avoid the *figura etymologica* (*armis armatus*). Cp. note ch. 22, 12. — The entire paragraph from *deinde . . . exierit* is based upon the similar discussion in Cic. *de orat.* I. 16, 72 f.

27. huius = *nostri.* See note ch. 7, 17. — Often combined with *cotidianus* as here.

28. pudenda: the gerundive of impersonal verbs, such as *pudet*, *piget*, *paenitet*, first occurs in the Augustan poets, whence it passed into prose.

30. praecepta prudentium = *philosophorum placita* (ch. 19, 7),

as shown by *sapientiae studium*, to which it is added chiastically, as a more specific term. Cp. note ch. 1, 15. — The substantival use of *prudens* is extremely rare, except in T., and as a synonym of *philosophus* or *sapiens*, seems to be a ἅπ. εἰρ. Cp. *Agr.* 25; *Hist.* III. 58; *Ann.* I. 70, *nihil sapiens ab imprudenti . . . differre*; Sen. *Epist.* 90, 33, *multa enim facit* (sc. *sapiens*) *quae ab imprudentibus . . . fieri vidimus.* — On the chiasmus at the close of a period, cp. note ch. 8, 22, and on the alliteration, note ch. 2, 14.

31. paucissimos sensus, etc.: of this style, Seneca is our only extant representative. — On the meaning of *sensus* and *sententia*, cp. ch. 20, 2.

32. detrudunt: though joined asyndetically to the previous clause, the *direct* outcome of the neglect spoken of is here emphasized, hence the indicative is logically, if not syntactically, justifiable. **expulsam regno**: similar metaphors are quite common. E.g. Cic. *ad fam.* IX. 18, 1, *amisso regno forensi.*

Page 31. **1. omnium artium domina**: cp. Eur. *Hec.* 816, πειθὼ δὲ τὴν τύραννον ἀνθρώπων μόνην; Pacuv. *Hermiona*, *fragm.* 14 Rb., *omnium regina rerum oratio.* As we learn from Cic. *de nat. deor.* III. 59, 148, this appellation of eloquence was especially affected by the New Academy. **pulcherrimo comitatu**: *gorgeous retinue.* The personification momentarily abandoned in *pectora implebat* is again taken up in the following.

2. circumcisa et amputata: *curtailed and shorn.* The metaphor, often applied to style, both in Greek and Latin, is derived from the clipping of the vine or trees, and both these words are repeatedly joined by Cicero. **sine ingenuitate**: i.e. eloquence is no longer practised for its own sake, as becomes a Roman freeman, but has been degraded into a money-making profession. Cp. the complaint of Maternus, in ch. 12, 8. — *Sine* with a noun serves as an idiomatic substitute for a corresponding adjective. Cp. ch. 41, 10; *Germ.* 35, *sine cupiditate, sine impotentia quieti secretique*; *Hist.* I. 9, *invalidum, sine constantia*; *Ann.* III. 15, *sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque*; XIII. 35, *sine galeis, sine loricis, nitidi et quaestuosi.*

4. una = *unum*, by a kind of attraction, the personification of eloquence remaining dominant throughout. **sordidissimis**: *vulgar, Philistine.* A characteristic epithet, illustrative of the contempt of Tacitus and Roman aristocrats generally for the bread-winning pursuits. Cp. Tac. *Hist.* I. 4; III. 74; *Ann.* IV. 62; XI. 6; and Sen.

Epist. 108, 36, *qui philosophiam velut aliquod artificium venale didicerunt.*

5. **praecipuam**: added to *primam* to prevent its being taken in a numerical sense, which would have implied that the speaker was about to give other reasons, but this he had originally no intention of doing. See below, ll. 10 ff.

8. **Platonis auditorem**: this tradition, though universally accepted by the ancients, was based upon untrustworthy testimony and forged evidence, such as the apocryphal letters of Demosthenes, and probably owes its ultimate origin to that love of synchronism which prompted the Greeks to bring their illustrious men into intellectual relationship or at least temporal proximity.

9. **et Cicero**: a slight anacoluthon for *et apud nos Ciceronem qui;* but such symmetry seemed out of place in a passage which merely draws attention to two well-known facts. **ut opinor**: on the use of this parenthetical phrase, see note ch. 21, 19. The reference is to *Orat.* 3, 12, *fateor me oratorem . . . non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiis extitisse.*

12. **vobis** = *a vobis.* Cp. note ch. 4, 21.

15. **audierint**: this phrase again betrays the literary and non-historical character of this treatise. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

16. **dum . . . laudo**: *dum* with the present indicative in *oratio obliqua* or within a subjunctive clause, is found occasionally in Livy, and is not uncommon in post-Augustan Latin, though avoided by Quintilian, Pliny, and Suetonius. In T. it is the regular construction. On the apathetic attitude of the Romans towards philosophy, see note ch. 19, 7.

17. **tamquam**: this subjective use of the particle is the exception in T. Cp. note ch. 2, 3. **ineptiis**: *foolish hobbies.* — With this closing remark, cp. Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 43, *ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer.*

Chapters 33–36. On Maternus' earnest request that Messalla should continue the discussion by showing also in what way the youth of the Republic acquired their practical training (— ch. 33, 31), Messalla points out that such forensic experience was due to their personal attendance in the law-courts, and to constant association with the leaders of the bar (— ch. 34). This method is, thereupon, contrasted with the modern pernicious practice of moot-courts, which renders the pupils helpless, when called upon to engage in real judicial

encounters (—ch. 36). The close of Messalla's speech and the beginning of Secundus' argument are lost. See *Introd.* p. xxiv.

Chapter 33. **20. adeo**, etc.: *you seem so far as yet from having accomplished the task.* Cp. note ch. 10, 4.

21. ostendisse, in place of some verb like *tradidisse*, or *reliquisse*, still further emphasizes the incompleteness of Messalla's previous exposition. Cp. *Agr.* 13, *potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse* (sc. Britanniam).

24. adversus: *as compared with.* So Tac. *Ann.* XII. 15; XV. 19; and in Liv. VII. 32; XXIV. 8; but apparently not elsewhere found in this sense.

25. quem ad modum in comparative clauses occurs in only two other passages in T., viz., *Ann.* III. 55; VI. 24. — In the *Dialogus* the anastrophe of the preposition is habitually avoided, except in such stereotyped expressions as the present, *ea de re* (ch. 2, 4), *magna ex parte* (ch. 35, 7), and the like.

28. et forum: on the epexegetic *et*, cp. note ch. 5, 26. **confirmare et alere**: both combined in Cic. *de orat.* II. 28, 123, Hor. *A. P.* 307; with ὕστερον πρότερον, as here, e.g. Quint. I. 1, 36, *firmatur atque alitur exercitatione.*

29. arte et scientia: *thorough theoretical knowledge* contrasted with *facultate et usu* (natural talent and practice).

31. abnues = *negabis.* In this sense rarely construed with the acc. with inf. In T., e.g. *Hist.* III. 54; *Ann.* XV. 22. **significare vultu videntur**: sc. *se non abnuere*, not *eloquentiam contineri*, as *vultu* shows.

Page 32. **1. Aper . . . adnuissent**: so similarly Cic. *Fragm. Hortens.* 4, *quod cum uterque nostrum adnuissent.* **quoque et** = *et . . . et.*

2. quasi rursus incipiens: a reminiscence of Cic. *Brut.* 55, 201, *cum haec disseruissem uterque adsensus est, et ego tamquam de integro ordiens, quando*, etc. **initia et semina**: combined in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* V. 24, 69; Quint. II. 20, 6, but with an apologetic particle (*tamquam, quaedam*) added.

4. institui erudirique: the same synonyms joined also in Cic. *in Verr.* II. 3, 69, 161.

6. quamquam: *of course.* See note ch. 28, 14.

7. ut = *ita ut.* So again Tac. *Ann.* IV. 38.

8. scientiae, etc.: the ancients regarded three things as essential to complete culture: (1) *φύσις, natura, ingenium, facultas;* (2) *ἐπιστήμη, μάθησις, scientia, ars, doctrina;* (3) *μελέτη, ἄσκησις, exercitatio, declamatio.* In our passage, the last category is subdivided into (a) *meditatio*, theoretical exercises, (b) *usus*, forensic experience. — With the climax, cp. note ch. 30, 27.

9. per quae = *quibus.* See note ch. 24, 26.

10. percipiendi quae proferas, etc.: i.e. the character of one's theoretical knowledge will determine the expediency of its particular use, and so inversely what the orator carries out in practice will depend upon the thoroughness of his theoretical training. Theory and practice, in other words, must always go hand in hand, each being indispensable to the other. The obscurity of the phrase, admitted by the speaker himself, was due to the desire of formulating an epigrammatic antithesis. It is an example of the figure known as *ἀντιμεταβολή, commutatio.* In T., e.g. ch. 39, 3; *Hist.* I. 1, *ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet;* II. 37, *ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent;* III. 73, *quae iusserat, vetare, quae vetuerat, iubere.* For other exx., cp. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* IX. 5; Cic. *Brut.* 39, 144; Min. Fel. *Octav.* 22, 1; and equally frequent in modern literatures, e.g. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, *'Tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis, 'tis true.*

12. scientiam ab exercitatione separat: this was done, e.g., by Gorgias the sophist, Isocrates, the Asiatic rhetoricians, the Stoics generally, and by Cicero's brother, as we learn from *de orat.* I. 2, 5. **concedet**: construed as in ch. 12, 20.

13. plenum: here with the abl. for the more usual genitive. T. uses both constructions. **longe** = *multo.* Cp. note ch. 32, 15.

15. videntur: *are seen or held to be.* In this sense also in Cic. *de orat.* I. 12, 54, *hic locus philosophorum proprius videtur*, and especially common in Lucretius.

Chapter 34. **16. ergo**: often marks the resumption of a topic after a digression or interruption. So *Germ.* 45; *Ann.* XIV. 3; XV. 33, 50. **foro et eloquentiae**: *forensic oratory.* Hendiadys.

17. imbutus: sc. *iure et eloquentia; partially trained in.* Cp. note ch. 19, 10.

18. deducebatur, etc.: this custom is repeatedly referred to. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Lael.* 1, 1; *Brut.* 89, 305 f.; Quint. X. 5, 19; XII. 11, 5; Plin. *Epist.* II. 14, 3; and note ch. 28.

19. principem in civitate locum: *a leading position in the community.* The identical phrase occurs again in Tac. *Ann.* III. 75, and Suet. *Octav.* 51.

20. hunc . . . hunc . . . huius: observe the anaphora, and cp. note ch. 22, 8. **sectari** = *adsectari.* Cp. notes ch. 1, 20 and 2, 6.

21. dictionibus: *public utterances.* The usual meaning *orations* is excluded here by *altercationes* and *iurgia.* — The speeches in the senate are here designedly ignored, because students had no access to its meetings.

22. altercationes: a technical term designating the tilts between opposing counsel, and usually consisting of short questions and quick repartee, and as such opposed to *perpetua* or *continua oratio.* To this practice, in which Crassus and Cicero exhibited a consummate mastery, Quintilian devoted a special chapter (VI. 4). **iurgiis**: because these encounters often led to personal invective. Cp. Quint. *l.c.*

23. ut sic dixerim: a post-Augustan expression, especially common in T. and Quintilian, for *ut ita dicam.* This subsequently took the form *ut sic dicam* or *ut ita dixerim,* the above representing a confusion of the two. — The so-called logical perfect subjunctive in subordinate clauses is, except in the present phrase, extremely rare. **pugnare in proelio**: on the avoidance of the *figura etymologica* (*pugnare in pugna*), see note ch. 22, 12.

24. constantiae: *self-possession.* — On the climax, cp. note ch. 30, 27.

25. in media luce: *in the full light of publicity.* A common metaphor, opposed to *umbra,* used of the theoretical exercises of rhetoricians.

27. aliquid: as shown by its position, modifies both adverbs. Cp. ch. 11, 16. **contrarie**: *inconsistent.* **quo minus**: *but that.* Cp. note ch. 3, 24.

28. iudex respuat: cp. Quint. VI. 4, 19, *quo iudex dicto moveatur, quid respuat.* — *Respuere* and *aspernari* are repeatedly combined in Cicero.

29. igitur: on the position, cp. ch. 3, 20.

Page 33. **1. quamquam**: with subjunctive. See note ch. 8, 29.

3. causis . . . iudiciis: *civil and criminal cases.*

6. ita: not = *itaque,* but correlated with *ut* below. **optimus quidem** = *o. ille quidem.* See note ch. 3, 27.

7. faciem . . . imaginem: cp. Apul. *Metam.* X. 27, *mulier . . .*

supprimens faciem, praetendens imaginem. Cicero similarly contrasts *effigies* and *imago* or *species.* **praestaret**: consecutive subjunctive.

8. rudibus: a foil or wooden stick used in fencing. In the same figurative sense also in Cic. *de opt. gen.* 6, 17, *ferro sed quasi rudibus eius* (sc. *Isocratis*) *eludit oratio.* T., as often, omits the apologetic particle. See note ch. 33, 2.

10. ex invidis: the prepositional phrase is attached directly to the noun as an attributive modifier. So similarly Tac. *Hist.* IV. 76; Cic. *in Verr.* II. 4, 27, 62; Liv. I. 34. Usually, however, some word like *mixtus*, *compositus*, or *constitutus* is added, as e.g. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 37. **nec bene**, etc.: with *nec bene* understand in thought *simularentur*, i.e. no utterances could be palmed off on such an audience as praiseworthy, if they were not so, while such as were censurable would be at once taken at their true value. In other words, the audience as a whole would not allow itself to be imposed upon. — The ellipsis of an affirmative to be supplied from an expressed negative, a species of zeugma, occurs repeatedly in T., e.g. *Hist.* I. 8, *Rufus . . . pacis artibus* (sc. *expertus*), *belli inexpertus; Ann.* XII. 64, *dare imperium* (sc. *quibat, poterat*), *tolerare imperitantem nequibat;* XIII. 56, *deesse nobis terra, ubi vivamus* (sc. *potest*), *in quo moriamur, non potest.*

11. duraturam: on fut. act. part. = adj. see note ch. 9, 16.

12. diversis subselliis: *on the benches of the opposition.*

13. quin immo: in anastrophe, as in ch. 6, 8.

14. fidelius: *more firmly.* The word occurs only here in T. and again *Ann.* XV. 67, but also in the comparative; elsewhere *fidus* is used instead. **atque**, etc.: before passing on to a new topic, the speaker carefully sums up the preceding arguments, in the order in which they were discussed. So again, ch. 35, 1 f. See note ch. 5, 3.

16. fori . . . iudiciorum: *in the forum, in the law-courts.* Objective genitives. So ch. 37, 17; *Ann.* II. 34, *ambitum fori.*

17. adsuefactus alienis experimentis: *accustomed by the experience derived from others.* So similarly *Agr.* 19, *doctus per aliena experimenta.* On the meaning see note ch. 29, 28. — *Experimentis* is the ablative, as shown by *eruditus*, although T. also construes *adsuefacio*, contrary to Ciceronian usage, with the dative. So ch. 29, 16; *Ann.* XII. 5.

20. aures: *likes and dislikes.* The word is very common in the sense of *taste, judgment, opinion.* So ch. 9, 29; 19, 11. 26; 21, 26; 27, 30; 34, 4; *Hist.* I. 90; *Ann.* XIII. 3. — Observe the asyndeton

throughout this paragraph. **accusationem**, etc. : while a successful defence was considered more difficult, an impeachment was apt to be attended with greater renown. Among the extant speeches of Cicero, there are very few *accusationes*. — On the position of the predicate, see ch. 22, 31; *Agr.* 11, *sacra deprehendas ac superstitionum persuasiones;* 17, *victoria complexus est aut bello;* 42, *consilium deerat nec . . . exemplum;* and notes ch. 37, 5.

21. **solus . . . unus**: *unus* in other writers seems always to precede, when joined to *solus*. Cp. note ch. 17, 30. **nono decimo . . . Carbonem**: this conflicts with the express testimony of Cicero. Crassus was born in 140, and impeached C. Papirius Carbo immediately after 120 B.C., the year of Carbo's consulship. He was, therefore, *twenty-one* years of age (so Cic. *de orat.* III. 20, 74) on the occasion referred to.

22. **uno et vicensimo . . . Dolabellam**: this statement is also erroneous. Caesar was born 100 B.C., and accused Dolabella in 77 B.C., in a speech which, we are told, established his oratorical reputation. He was, therefore, *twenty-three* years old at the time. These chronological errors were, in all probability, found in the Acta of Mucianus, whence T. seems to have taken the information here given. See *Introd.* p. xxxii.

23. **altero et vicensimo . . . Catonem**: *C. Porcius Cato*, a relative of Cato Uticensis, was accused by the young Pollio (born 76 B.C.) for maladministration. He was defended by Calvus and M. Scaurus, and acquitted July 5, 54 B.C.

24. **non multum . . . Vatinium**: Calvus (born 82 B.C.) began his oratorical career before he reached the quaestorship, that is, before the twenty-seventh year. The *Vatiniana* here alluded to must, therefore, as best suited to *non multum aetate praecedens*, be understood of the speech of 58, which was never delivered, but was subsequently published, Calvus being then *twenty-four*. See note ch. 21, 24.

25. **hodieque** = *hodie quoque; still, to-day*. So very frequently. In T. e.g. *Germ.* 3.

Chapter 35. 28. **paulo ante Ciceronis tempora,** etc. : i.e. in the consulship of C. Fannio Strabo and M. Valerius Messalla in 161 B.C., when the rhetoricians and philosophers were banished by a decree of the senate. The measure, however, proved ineffectual.

30. **Crasso et Domitio censoribus**: L. Licinius Crassus, the orator, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus were censors in 92 B.C. The

edict here referred to has been preserved by Gell. *N. A.* XV. 11, and Suet. *de gram.* 25.

31. 'ludum impudentiae': the quotation is from the *de orat.* III. 24, 93 ff., where Crassus endeavors to justify his course at some length.

32. ut dicere institueram: *but as I was saying.* A common formula of resumption, for the more colloquial *coepi dicere.*

Page 34. **1. non facile dixerim**: *it were not easy to say.* **utrumne** is apparently colloquial usage; so again ch. 37, 16. — The statement itself is probably exaggerated. See the dispassionate discussion of Quint. I. 2 (*utilius domi an in scholis erudiantur*), who concludes by saying, *non tamen hoc eo valet ut fugiendae sint omnino scholae, aliud est enim vitare eas, aliud eligere.*

3. nemo nisi aeque . . . intrat: the incomplete comparison must be supplied by *atque* (*et*) *alter*, i.e. teacher and pupil are alike ignorant. This ellipsis is found in all periods of the language. In T. again *Hist.* I. 7, 29. — With the thought, cp. Plin. *Epist.* VIII. 23, 3, *quotus quisque vel aetati alterius vel auctoritati ut minor cedit? statim sapiunt, statim sciunt omnia, neminem verentur.*

5. cum pueri, etc.: the same view is held by Quint. II. 2, 14.

6. securitate: *with impunity.*

7. contrariae: *impracticable, inexpedient.* **nempe enim**: *for as you all know, of course.* This and similar pleonasms are characteristic of earlier Latin (e.g. Plautus, Terence, Lucretius), and were revived in post-Augustan literature.

8. suasoriae belong to the *genus deliberativum* (συμβουλευτικόν), specimens of which have been preserved by the elder Seneca, e.g. *Deliberat Alexander an Oceanum naviget; Deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur.*

9. controversiae are discussions of moot-cases, and technically come under the head of the *genus iudiciale.* The epideictic branch (cp. note ch. 31, 11) is here designedly omitted, because rhetoricians regarded it as relatively unimportant. **suasoriae quidem etsi**, etc.: *though the suasoriae are, it is true, given over to boys, on the ground that they are clearly rather unimportant and demand less discrimination, the controversiae are assigned to the more mature, but good heavens! what stuff they are made of, how unnatural they are!* **tamquam**: introduces the mistaken notions of the rhetoricians. Cp. note ch. 2, 3.

10. plane: with comparative. See note ch. 27, 26.

11. robustioribus: *more mature*. In this same sense, e.g. *Germ*. 13.

12. per fidem: without some intervening word like *deum*, *deum atque hominum* is very rare, e.g. Petron. 100, 5; Apul. *Metam*. VI. 175; and probably Plaut. *Amph*. I. 1, 220. **compositae** = *fictae*. Cp. note ch. 12, 20. **sequitur ut**: *furthermore*, *in addition to*, i.e. as if these exercises were not pernicious enough in themselves, they are rendered still more intolerable by bombastic delivery. This use of the phrase in transition is found repeatedly in Cicero and in post-Augustan Latin.

13. materiae abhorrenti, etc.: cp. ch. 31, 6 f., and Quint. II. 10, 3, *sint ergo et ipsae materiae quae fingentur quam simillimae veritati*, V. 12, 17–20; X. 2, 11 f.; 5, 14. **declamatio**: *bombastic delivery*. Ordinarily the word is synonymous with *controversia*. Cp. ch. 14, 10, 31, 6.

14. tyrannicidarum praemia: thirteen specimens have come down to us. The great popularity of these themes was due to the fact that they afforded an excellent opportunity for free speech under the seemingly harmless guise of rhetorical school exercises, although some emperors, like Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, occasionally resorted to harsh measures in suppressing even these.

15. vitiatarum electiones: no fewer than twenty-four declamations on this subject have been preserved. The point at issue is given in the following title in Sen. *Contr*. I. 5, *Rapta raptoris aut mortem aut indotatas nuptias optet*. **pestilentiae remedia**: such as the sacrifice of a son. The theme is dealt with in six extant *controversiae*. **incesta matrum**: on this topic, we still possess four discussions.

16. quidquid aliud . . . agitur: our very fragmentary collections contain nearly three hundred *declamationes* more or less elaborated, on a great variety of topics. **in foro**: on the ellipsis of *sed*, cp. note ch. 6, 21.

17. ingentibus verbis persequantur: *harangue with mighty bombast*.

18. cum ad veros iudices ventum: the sentence may be completed by supplying some phrase like *they collapse*, *make a fiasco*, i.e. from lack of practical forensic experience. Cp. the similar statement in Petron. 1, *rerum tumore et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt ut cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium terra-*

rum orbem delatos. — For concrete illustrations, cp. the experience of Albucius and Porcius Latro, related by Sen. *Contr.* VII. praef. 7 f.; IX. praef. 3.

19. nihil humile, nihil abiectum: so exactly Cic. *de fin.* V. 20, 57. The synonyms are frequently grouped elsewhere, esp. in Seneca and similarly ch. 8, 2; Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 46, with *sordidum* in place of *humile.* With the anaphora, cp. ch. 22, 8, and Cic. *l.c.*

20. poterat: the subject was probably Demosthenes.

Chapters 36–40. **5.** Secundus, continuing the discussion, shows that the growth of eloquence is contingent upon an untrammelled freedom of speech and action, such as democratic Athens and republican Rome once enjoyed. The ability to speak, moreover, was not only the only avenue to political honors, but indispensable in all the walks of life. Unequalled opportunities for the exercise of eloquence, the rewards attending its display, and the then existing mode of legal procedure, were all alike highly conducive to the development of oratory. But all these favorable conditions are incompatible with a monarchical form of government, and hence the decline of eloquence is the direct result of this changed state of affairs, extremely deplorable but historically inevitable. — On Secundus, as the speaker of these paragraphs, see the following notes and *Introd.* p. xxiv.

Chapter 36. **23. nostra quoque civitate**: the *quoque* proves that Secundus had previously discussed Greek oratory, and he probably also gave some of the reasons for its rapid decline, an exposition expressly desired by Messalla (ch. 15, 2 ff.), and very appropriately assigned to Secundus, the scholar and historian of the company.

24. consecuti sunt: *have been able to secure.* An instance of the empirical perfect. Cp. note ch. 13, 30.

25. compositae: *settled.* So ch. 41, 29; *Ann.* IV. 1, *compositae rei publicae.* On another meaning of the verb, see note ch. 12, 20. — Maternus does not share the political optimism of Secundus (see ch. 41, 28 f.), and in his direct reference to this passage in ch. 40, 6 significantly omits *beata*, also substituting *otiosa* for *composita.*

26. perturbatione ac licentia correspond respectively to *mixtis omnibus* and *moderatore uno carentibus.* **plura sibi adsequi videbantur**: *clearly acquired greater personal influence* (advantages). For this use of *videri*, like φαίνεσθαι, see e.g. Caes. *B. G.* I. 40, 5, *cum . . . meritus videbatur;* II. 28, 2; VI. 1, 3.

27. omnibus: sc. *rebus*. See note ch. 19, 8.

28. saperet: *was thought wise to just the extent that.*

Page 35. **1. erranti populo**: *fickle populace*, now bestowing its favor upon one leader, now upon another. **hinc**: *out of such conditions arose.* Cp. note ch. 10, 1, Observe the anaphora, esp. frequent in these closing chapters.

2. leges adsiduae et populare nomen: *decrees without end and consequent popularity.* The *et* is epexegetic. Cp. note ch. 5, 26. **paene pernoctantium in rostris**: with this hyperbole, cp. e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 89, 305, *habitabant in rostris.* T. all but invariably modifies exaggerated expressions by the addition of *paene*, *prope*, and like phrases.

3. accusationes . . . reorum: *impeachment of malefactors.* Cp. Tac. *Ann.* XI. 5, *accusandis reis;* II. 24; *Hist.* IV. 6. The phrase is only apparently tautological, for *reus* did not originally signify defendant, but any party to a suit. — With the thought, cp. ch. 37, 14 f.

4. adsignatae . . . inimicitiae: i.e. feuds handed down as a kind of testamentary injunction from family to family. In this juridical sense, *adsignare* is post-Augustan. — *Inimicitiae*, in the meaning required here, is rare, e.g. Lucret. V. 1146; ch. 40, 2; *Germ.* 21; *Hist.* II. 53. — The author may have had in mind the long-continued feuds between the Gracchi and the Scipios.

5. procerum factiones: i.e. senatorial quarrels. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* III. 27, *adversum patrum factiones.*

6. distrahebant: this is the regular word used to express political disturbances. Cp. *Agr.* 12, *factionibus et studiis distrahuntur; Hist.* I. 77; V. 12; *Ann.* I. 4; IV. 40.

7. exercebant, etc.: see ch. 38, 11 f.

8. cumulare *aliquid aliqua re* is poetic and chiefly post-Augustan. In T. also *Hist.* II. 57; III. 36. — The rewards of eloquence enthusiastically referred to here (and ch. 36, 27), and claimed by Aper (ch. 10) as obtainable in his own day, are but lightly esteemed and even deprecated by Maternus (ch. 11, 15 ff.; 13, 14 f.; 41).

11. apud principes . . . apud plebem: cp. ch. 13, 31 f. The alliterative and anaphoric enumeration serves to emphasize each single element. Cp. notes ch. 20, 22; 26, 23 f.

12. notitiae ac nominis: see note ch. 11, 20.

13. hi: because of the plural idea in *quisque* (l. 9). **clientelis . . . redundabant**: the same figurative use of *redundare* in Tac.

Hist. II. 32. — On the statement itself, cp. Appian, *B. C.* II. 4, ἁπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔστι τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ προστάτης (*patronus*). Cp. note ch. 3, 7.

14. hos ituri, etc. : i.e. to secure their support while away from Rome, or to enlist their legal aid, if necessary, in case of an impeachment, for instance.

15. hos . . . videbantur : cp. the saying, 'The office must seek the man, not the man the office.' The boldness of the personification is lessened by *videbantur*, which has the force of *quasi* or *tamquam*.

16. ultro : *without effort on their part.* — This admiring comment is irreconcilable with the supposition that Maternus is the speaker, as is clear from ch. 13, 19 f. **ne privati quidem**, etc. : *privatus* here opposed to *magistratus*. So e.g. Cic. *de inv.* I. 25, 35, *privatus an cum potestate;* Iuv. I. 16, and in Tac. *Ann.* VI. 2 (8); XV. 21. Elsewhere in post-Augustan writers usually in the sense of *subject;* so e.g. *Agr.* 39. — Cicero's conflict with Antony may furnish an instance in point.

17. consilio et auctoritate : frequently combined. Cp. e.g. Tac. *Germ.* 12; *Hist.* II. 44.

19. neminem sine eloquentia . . . locum : cp. Plut. *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 2, ἰσχύειν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόγου τὸν πολιτευόμενον ἀναγκαῖον.

20. nec mirum : sc. *erat.* Cp. note ch. 19, 4.

21. cum parum esset . . . nisi qui : the use of a negative protasis after expressions like *parum* and *non satis*, where strict logic would require an adversative clause, is a noteworthy Latin idiom. The more regular construction occurs ch. 23, 7 f.

23. invidiam aut crimen : grouped also in Tac. *Hist.* III. 75. — This statement again cannot have been made by Maternus, as his utterance ch. 11, 25 ff. proves.

24. respondendum haberent : cp. note ch. 8, 1.

25. quoque in publicis iudiciis : similar instances of a misplaced *quoque* — it here belongs after *publicis* — are not rare. E.g. Tac. *Ann.* XI. 8, *patris sui quoque;* 13, *comperto quoque Graecam litteraturam;* Liv. X. 14, 9, *quoque aperta pugna;* Prop. I. 12, 18, *sunt quoque translato gaudia servitio* ; II. 34, 85 ; III. 11, 65 ; IV. 4, 52.

26. per tabellam : *by affidavit.* **coram et praesentes** : *face to face.* On this meaning of *coram*, see Cic. *de leg. agr.* III. 1, 1, *coram potius me praesente;* Tac. *Hist.* IV. 65; *Ann.* IV. 54. The two synonyms correspond chiastically to *absentes* and *per tabellam.*

29. mutum et elinguem : the same collocation occurs in Liv. X.

19; Suet. *Vitell.* 6; and Gell. *Noct. Att.* V. 1. 9. — Observe the libration of clauses in this closing period (a : bb : : aa : b). See note ch. 12 ext. 15 ext.

Chapter 37. **31. rubore** = *pudore* is common in T.; e.g. *Germ.* 13; *Hist.* I. 30; *Ann.* XI. 17.

32. clientulorum: this diminutive seems to be a Tacitean coinage, occurring only here and *Ann.* XII. 36.

Page 36. **2. non suffecturi honoribus**: *incompetent to hold office.*

3. non impetrarent . . . impetratos: the former designates the result of their indolence (*inertes*); *impetratos*, sc. *honores*, that of their incapacity.

4. nescio an: in T. only here and *Ann.* III. 53. **haec vetera**: i.e. the speeches of the republican period. In the same restricted sense, e.g. Tac. *Ann.* IV. 32, *veteres populi Romani res composuere*, and note ch. 19, 27. — For the neuter plural substantive, cp. Hor. *Epist.* II. 1. 23, *fautor veterum.*

6. cum maxime: *just at present*, i.e. 75 A.D., the dramatic date of the *Dialogus.* — On the phrase, see note ch. 16, 10. **Muciano**: *C. Licinius Mucianus*, the Warwick of Roman history, three times consul (66, 70, and 72 A.D.), and chiefly instrumental in placing Vespasian on the throne. He died between 75 and 77 A.D. **contrahuntur**: *epitomized and selected.* **ut opinor**: see note ch. 21, 19.

7. Actorum libris: *Acta* here in the rare sense of *actiones* = *orationes* (note ch. 17, 8). So e.g. Plin. *Epist.* III. 18, 11. The work seems to have been an anthology of oratory, with sundry biographical and chronological notes, and was in all probability one of the sources of Tacitus, Quintilian, Gellius, Fronto, and Macrobius. See note ch. 34 ext. and *Introd.* p. xxiv. **tribus Epistularum**: these seem to have been miscellaneous excerpts, similar to the *Electa* of the elder Pliny and the selections from Cicero's letters made by Fronto (p. 107 N.). The information in ch. 18, 6 ff. is probably also based upon this compilation.

8. Cn. Pompeium: his oratorical ability, as attested by Vell. Pat. II. 29, 3, *eloquentia medius*; by Quint. XI. 1, 36; and by the curiously qualified praise of Cic. *Brut.* 68, 239, was of a decidedly mediocre character. **M. Crassum**: cp. note ch. 18, 27.

9. viribus . . . armis: *military ability.* Both words are joined in *Hist.* II. 74; IV. 23, 68; and frequently elsewhere. **ingenio**

. . . **oratione**: *oratorical genius.* *Ingenio* was added for the sake of libration with *viribus . . . armis.*

10. Lentulos . . . Curiones: orators of indifferent ability, contemporary with Cicero, who criticises them in various passages of the *Brutus.* Cp. esp. 66, 234 f.; 70, 247. 268 (the Lentuli); 70, 247 (Metelli); 62, 222 (Luculli); 32, 122; 58, 210; 81, 280 (Curiones). The fact that these orators, except Q. Metellus Celer (cons. 60 B.C.), left written speeches is known only from this passage. — These learned details, appropriate as they are in the mouth of Secundus, would be unsuitable if attributed to the *poet* Maternus.

13. sine aliqua eloquentia: *without eloquence of some kind or other.* — For this force of *aliquis*, cp. e.g. Lucret. V. 409. 413, *aliqua ratione;* Caes. *B. C.* III. 73, 3, *sine aliquo vulnere;* and quite frequent in Cicero. On its use for *quisquam* or *ullus* after a negative or *sine*, see ch. 6, 25; 10, 28; *Hist.* II. 45.

14. splendor: here used of the illustrious birth of the defendants. So Tac. *Agr.* 6; *Hist.* II. 76; Suet. *Vesp.* 1. — On the singular verb, see note ch. 22, 15.

15. et ipsa: *likewise.* See note ch. 30, 1.

16. utrumne . . . an: see note ch. 35, 1.

17. formula: cp. note ch. 20, 20. **interdicto**: designates the decree of the praetor calling upon the litigants to conform to certain injunctions or to abstain from doing certain acts. **dicendum habeas**: see note ch. 8, 1. **ambitu comitiorum**: e.g. Cicero's speech *pro Murena.*

18. expilatis sociis: e.g. the speeches against Verres. **civibus trucidatis**: e.g. Cic. *pro Milone* or *pro Rabirio.* — Observe the equilibrium of clauses (a : bb :: a : bb).

19. sicut . . . ita: cp. note ch. 11, 16. — With the thought, cp. ch. 41, 5.

22. crescit enim, etc.: with the sentiment, cp. Schiller, *Man grows with his higher aims.*

23. claram et inlustrem: a frequent collocation.

24. nec = *nec ideo.* So often in a conclusion. E.g. ch. 12, 14; *Germ.* 8; *Ann.* IV. 35. **opinor**: like *puto, credo*, in a parenthesis is often used with a tinge of irony, and thus usually distinguished from *ut opinor, ut puto;* but see note ch. 21, 19.

25. Demosthenem, etc.: this suit was begun by Demosthenes in 363 B.C. at the age of twenty-one. The ill-success of these early oratorical efforts — they are extant — is sneeringly alluded to by Aesch.

Ctesiph. 173. — On the ellipsis of *eas* before *orationes*, see note ch. 32, 22.

27. P. Quinctius: the earliest speech of Cicero, delivered in 81 B.C., in his twenty-sixth year. This and the following speeches have all come down to us. **defensus** = *defensio*. On this usage see note ch. 29, 22. **Licinius Archias**: this speech, delivered in 62 B.C. in defence of the citizenship of the poet Archias, is still, but unjustly, held in low estimation by many scholars. **faciunt**: the plural predicate, with two nouns in the singular, separated by a disjunctive conjunction, is of extremely rare occurrence in Latin, and of doubtful authenticity. Cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 41, 148; Liv. V. 8, 13; Petron. c. 1; Suet. *Oct.* 86. Not elsewhere in T. **Catilina**: four speeches in all, delivered Nov. 8, 9, Dec. 3, 5, 63 B.C. — On the ellipsis of *sed*, see note ch. 6, 21.

28. Milo: unsuccessful defence (52 B.C.) of T. Annius Milo, the assassin of P. Clodius Pulcher. The ancients possessed both the original (now lost) and the subsequently more elaborated oration. It is of the latter that Asconius Pedianus, the ancient commentator of Cicero's speeches, has said, *scripsit . . . ita perfecte, ut iure prima haberi possit*, — a verdict endorsed by modern critics. **Verres**: of the six speeches only the first was actually spoken (Aug. 5, 70 B.C.), but in the others the fiction of having been delivered in the presence of the defendant is maintained. **Antonius**: i.e. the fourteen so-called Philippic orations against Marc Antony, Sept. 2, 44–Apr. 22, 43 B.C. The second and most famous of these was never delivered, but purports to be an extemporaneous answer to Antony's invective against Cicero, on Sept. 19, 44. Iuv. X. 124 f., styles it *divina*. **famam circumdederunt**: the same metaphor occurs in Tac. *Agr.* 20; *Hist.* IV. 11; and Pseudo-Longinus, περὶ ὕψους, 1, 3, ταῖς ἑαυτῶν περιέβαλον εὐκλείαις τὸν αἰῶνα; and similarly *Hist.* IV. 45; *Ann.* XIV. 15; Isocr. *Arch.* 3, αἰσχύναις τὴν πόλιν περιβαλεῖν.

29. non quia tanti fuerit . . . ut: the supposition is purely imaginary, and introduced merely to prevent any misunderstanding of the speaker's views. Hence, the subjunctive after *non quia* = *non quod*, *non quo*, neither of which occurs in T. — *tanti* is here used absolutely, as in *Ann.* VI. 2 (8), and not correlated with *ut*, which is final.

30. ferre = *gignere*. In this sense the verb is rare, except with expressions denoting time. In T., ch. 37, 3; 40, 23; *Agr.* 12, *fert Britannia aurum . . . gignit et Oceanus margarita.*

31. subinde: *repeatedly*, viz. ch. 36, 26 ff.; 37, 19 f.

Page 37. **3. proeliatores**: an extremely rare word. In T. again, *Ann.* II. 73.

4. quo . . . tanto for *quanto . . . tanto*, is the usual correlation in the historical works. In the *Dialogus* again, ch. 6, 10, *tanta . . . quam.*

5. quoque = *et quo.* See note ch. 8, 2. **intulerit ictus et exceperit**: this is a favorite *collocatio verborum* in T.; e.g. *Agr.* 33, *inventa Britannia et subacta; Germ.* 11, *incohatur luna aut impletur; Hist.* I. 47, *omisisset offensas an distulisset;* III. 9; *Ann.* II. 38; XIII. 12; XVI. 24. See also note ch. 34, 20.

7. desumpserit = *sumpserit.* Cp. note ch. 7, 18. **altior et excelsior**: both synonyms are combined in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* II. 4, 11; Plin. *Epist.* IX. 26, 1. **nobilitata**: for *magis nobilitata.* Cp. the similar inconcinnity in *Ann.* II. 5, *quanto acriora in eum studia militum et aversa patrum voluntas;* III. 43, *quanto civitas opulentior et . . . procul praesidium.*

8. in ore, etc. = *in fama versari.* So Tac. *Hist.* II. 73, 78; *Ann.* XIV. 56; Plut. *Thes.* 20, πάντες . . . διὰ στόματος ἔχουσιν. **agit** expresses the activity of eloquence, the personification being kept up throughout.

9. secura velint, periculosa mirentur: cp. the parallelism in Pseudo-Plut. περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς 9, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἐπαινεῖται μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ θαυμάζεται; and also Plin. *Epist.* IX. 26, 3, *eloquentiam nihil magis quam ancipitia commendant; sunt enim maxime mirabilia quae maxime periculosa.*

Chapter 38. **11. quae**: sc. *forma iudiciorum; veterum,* though part of the grammatical antecedent, is excluded by *nunc.*—Analogous incongruities are often met with; e.g. Hor. *A. P.* 379, *ludere* (sc. *armis*) *qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis;* Quint. X. 2, 28, *perfectus orator quem* (sc. *oratorem*) *nunc consummari potissimum oporteat;* Plin. *Epist.* II. 1, 2, *perfunctus est tertio consulatu ut summum fastigium* (sc. *consulatum*) *. . . impleret;* and Tac. *Germ.* 24, *nudi iuvenes quibus* (sc. *iuvenibus*) *id ludicrum est.*

13. perorare: is simply an emphasized *orare,* signifying, as often, the formal oration or 'plaidoyer' proper. As these speeches generally came in at the close of the evidence, the term came to designate a summing up.

14. modum in dicendo: the identical phrase is found in Cic. *de rep.* II. 1, 1, and so frequently for *dicendi,* e.g. ch. 7, 4; Quint. VIII.

5, 32; X. 1, 17; Suet. *Galb.* 3.—Secundus takes direct issue with Aper's view (ch. 19, 12 ff.).

15. numerus . . . patronorum: in the earlier period the number of advocates at a trial rarely exceeded four, but toward the close of the Republic it occasionally rose as high as twelve.

16. finiebatur = *definiebatur.* So *Germ.* 19; *Ann.* XIII. 38. 49, also with *numerus.* Cp. note ch. 1, 20. **primus . . . adstrinxit**: this was done by the *lex Pompeia de vi et ambitu*, passed in 52 B.C. The trial was limited to four days, —three for the deposition of testimony, one for the speeches of counsel, the defendant being allowed three hours, the plaintiff two. **haec**: refers only to a part of the preceding, for the *numerus patronorum* was, so far as we know, not limited by this law, but by the *lex Iulia* of the year 18 B.C.

17. imposuit . . . frenos eloquentiae: this metaphor is often applied to style, and was probably first used by Isocrates, Θεόπομπον ἔφη χαλινοῦ δεῖσθαι (= Cic. *de orat.* III. 9, 36; Quint. II. 8, 11). Cp. also Lucian, *Harmod.* 82, χαλινόν τινα (= *velut*) ἐμβέβληκεν (= *imposuit*) αὐτῷ ἡ φιλοσοφία; and Tac. *Ann.* V. 3, *velut frenis exsoluti.*

18. omnia in foro: whereas trials are now conducted within the walls of *auditoria et tabularia* (ch. 39, 7 f.). **omnia legibus**: cp. Aper's remarks in ch. 19, 12 f. **omnia apud praetores**: in the speaker's time, the Senate and the Emperor had usurped many judicial functions formerly exercised by the praetors.—Observe the anaphora.

19. negotia: *cases.* Cp. note ch. 3, 6. **exerceri**: exactly equivalent to our technical use of *try.* So *Ann.* IV. 19, but apparently not elsewhere in literary Latin.

21. causae centumvirales: only civil suits came before this tribunal, which the Republican orators could afford to neglect, but during the Empire the centumviral court furnished the only opportunity for oratorical display. This statement again is at variance with what Aper had said on this topic. Cp. ch. 7, 6 ff.

22. obruebantur: *thrown into the shade, eclipsed.* So *Agr.* 17.

23. ut . . . dictus legatur: *we do not read of the delivery.* The infinitive nominative, common with *tradar* (ch. 40, 14), *narror*, and *dicor*, is extremely rare with *legor.* Cp. Prop. IV. (V.) 11, 36, *in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar;* Ovid, *Her.* V. 22, *legor Oenone falce notata tua;* and in very late Latin, e.g. Cassiod. *Var.* IX. 3 ext., *gryphes aurum iugiter leguntur effodere* ('we read that').

26. pro heredibus Urbiniae: the questions at issue in this an-

cient Tichborne trial are known to us from Quintilian, who refers repeatedly (IV. 1, 11; VII. 2, 5. 26; and possibly VIII. 3, 32; IX. 3, 13) to what must evidently have been one of Pollio's most celebrated speeches. It was probably given in an extract in the Acta of Mucianus, whence T. also took the date.

27. mediis . . . temporibus: i.e. 15/14 B.C., for Tacitus dates the beginning of Augustus' reign from the year 43 B.C. See note ch. 7, 25.

28. postquam: with the pluperfect indicative. See note ch. 22, 2. **quies . . . otium . . . tranquillitas**: these synonyms, together with *pax*, are variously combined in T. Cp. Vell. Pat. II. 103, 4, *spes . . . quietis, pacis, tranquillitatis.* — Observe the symmetry of clauses (adj. + gen. + subst.), abandoned in the last member, because *disciplina* introduces a new idea, *maxime* emphasizing its paramount significance among the historical clauses which led to the result here described. This also accounts for the singular predicate after *et . . . et . . . et,* the verb agreeing with the nearest and most important subject. Cp. also notes ch. 22, 15; 26, 10.

Page 38. **2. depacaverat**: *completely silenced.* The compound does not occur elsewhere. — The thought itself seems to be peculiarly Tacitean. Cp. *Hist.* I. 1, *multi auctores rettulerunt, dum res populi Romani memorabantur, pari eloquentia ac libertate; postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere.*

Chapter 39. **3. ridiculum . . . rideatur**: another instance of the figure ἀντιμεταβολή, on which see note ch. 33, 10. — Maternus, as the host, had no reason to apprehend being ridiculed by his guests. In the mouth of the timid Secundus, however, such a statement is quite unobjectionable. On this respect due to the host, cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 10, 41, *id, nisi hic in tuo regno essemus, non tulissem.*

5. paenulas: this was a tight-fitting cloak (hence *adstricti, inclusi*), usually worn in rainy weather or on a journey. The term is here used to stigmatize the want of dignity and propriety which characterized contemporary pleaders even in their attire.

6. fabulamur: cp. note ch. 23, 2.

7. auditoria: *halls,* usually devoted to recitations and declamations of rhetoricians. **tabularia**: i.e. the buildings where the public records were kept. — None of these localities, the speaker contends,

can inspire true oratory, being originally intended for less worthy or dignified objects.

8. explicantur: *are disposed of;* derisively for *aguntur*.

9. cursus et spatia: *spacious race-track*. Hendiadys. The same collocation occurs in Plin. *Epist.* IV. 12, 7.

10. aliquis = *quidam, a kind of.* So *Germ.* 46, *in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur.* — The metaphor of a field as applied to oratory is very common.

11. liberi et soluti: a frequent collocation, esp. in Cicero, but in T. only here. **debilitatur ac frangitur**: i.e. first weakened and then broken, hence joined by *ac* not *et*. See note ch. 4, 14. — The same verbs are often combined, in Cicero always in inverse order. See note ch. 4, 14, and cp. Tac. *Ann.* III. 67, *eloquentiam debilitat.*

12. quin immo: in anastrophe as usual. See note ch. 6, 8. **curam . . . experimur**: i.e. the trouble and anxious effort involved in a carefully written speech go for naught, owing to continual interruptions which compel the orator to abandon his manuscript and speak *ex tempore.* — The passage is in perfect accord with the character of Secundus. See *Introd.* p. xxv, footnote *d*.

13. interrogat iudex, etc.: Secundus deprecates what Aper (ch. 19, 14 ff.) regards as a welcome change from the practice of an earlier period.

14. ex interrogatione: *in accordance with the question.* So e.g. *Agr.* 40; *Germ.* 3; *Hist.* I. 82.

15. saepe . . . frequenter: correlated, like *modo . . . modo, saepe . . . saepe, saepe . . . modo.* **probationibus et testibus**: *testes, concrete evidence*, distinguished from inferential proof, and as such subordinated to the generic term *probatio.* So πίστις and μάρτυρες in Greek. Cp. Arist. *Rhet.* I. 2; Cic. *de orat.* II. 27, 116; and note ch. 1, 15.

16. unus . . . aut alter: *one or at best two.* See note ch. 9. 13.

18. clamore plausuque: so joined by Tac. *Hist.* III. 84, Cicero, and Livy. **velut quodam theatro**: for the simile, see Cic. *Brut.* 2, 6, and *de orat.* II. 83, 338, where the thought is further elaborated.

20. nobiles: *the higher classes.*

21. tribus: *the commonalty, lower classes.* In this concrete sense, the word is very rare. Cp. Plin. *N. H.* XIX. 4, 19, 54; Mart. VIII. 15, 4; Flor. II. 6, 25. Observe the stylistic symmetry in the second *cum* clause. Each of the two members joined by *et* is made up of two elements combined by *ac*, while *quoque*, added to the first member

of the first group, corresponds to *etiam* in the first member of the second.

22. adsisteret: agrees with the nearest subject. Cp. note ch. 22. 15. **plerisque**: here equivalent to *plurimi*. Cp. note ch. 2, 11.

24. C. Cornelium: accused of proposing pernicious laws while *tribunus plebis*, he was, in 65 B.C., successfully defended by Cicero in two speeches of which considerable fragments and the argument have been preserved. **M. Scaurum**: *M. Aemilius Scaurus* was accused *rerum repetundarum* in 54 B.C. He was defended by six celebrated advocates, among whom were Hortensius and Cicero. Cato was the presiding judge. The sensational trial ended in an acquittal. Only fragments of Cicero's speech remain.

25. T. Milonem: see note ch. 37, 28. **L. Bestiam**: *L. Calpurnius Bestia*, one of the Catilinian conspirators, was accused *de ambitu* in 56, and unsuccessfully defended by Cicero. The speech is entirely lost. **P. Vatinium**: see note ch. 21, 24. **concursu totius civitatis** = *concurrente tota civitate.* This so-called ablative of attendant circumstance is characteristic of Tacitean style. With *concursus*, e.g. ch. 6, 6, *Ann.* V. 10, VI. 50, XII. 47.

26. frigidissimos . . . potuerint: the subjunctive represents the apodosis of an unreal condition, the protasis having to be supplied from *frigidissimos*, i.e. these struggles would have been able to inflame orators, were they never so apathetic.—*frigidus*, like ψυχρός, is a common epithet of style, but very rarely, as here, applied to the writers themselves. So e.g. Cic. *ad Quint. frat.* III. 3, 3, *accusatoribus frigidis utitur; Brut.* 48, 178, *nimis lentus in dicendo et paene frigidus;* and Aristoph. *Ach.* 138, of the dramatist Theognis, κατένιψε χίονι τὴν Θρᾴκην ὅλην.

28. eiusmodi libri, etc.: i.e. owing to such inspiring influences, even mediocre speakers were, in spite of themselves, impelled to higher efforts, and hence posterity bases its estimation of both accused and accusers almost exclusively upon the speeches delivered on these occasions, however praiseworthy in themselves other oratorical productions of the same speakers may have been.

29. ipsi quoque = *vel ipsi.* So above *frigidissimos quoque*, ch. 6, 21, and frequently elsewhere in T.

30. censeantur = *aestimentur.* In this sense, the word is chiefly post-Augustan. In T. again, *Agr.* 45.

Chapter 40. 31. ius: *privilege.* So e.g. Sen. *Dial.* V. 13, 3;

Plin. *Epist. ad Trai.* 31, 1; and in Tac. *Ann.* II. 30, *certabant* (sc. *accusatores*) *cui ius perorandi in reum daretur.*

32. vexandi: *of attack.* So also ch. 1, 22; Cic. *de rep.* IV. 10, 11, *quem illa* (*vetus comoedia*) *non attigit vel potius vexavit; Tusc. Disp.* V. 9, 29, *vexatur Theophrastus.* — The statement itself is an emphatic reiteration of ch. 36, 3, and is, like the following, quite incompatible with the attitude of Maternus. **inimicitiarum gloria**: cp. ch. 36, 4; 37, 7; and *Hist.* II. 53, *magnis* (= *magnorum virorum*) *inimicitiis claresceret.*

Page 39. **1. Scipione**: the attacks which the Scipios suffered at the hands of opponents is abundantly attested, e.g. by Liv. XXXVIII. 54, 57; Cic. *de rep.* I. 19, 31; Val. Max. III. 7, 1; IV. 1, 12; Plut. *Cat. Maior*, 15; and Gell. *Noct. Att.* VI. (VII.) 19, 6.

2. L. Sulla . . . Cn. Pompeio: the history of both these men furnishes superabundant evidence of the statement here made. **se abstinerent ab**, instead of *abstinere* with the abl., is extremely rare. Cp. Plaut. *Curc.* I. 1, 37; Cic. *Acad.* II. 17, 55; Sen. *Contr.* I. 2, 9; Pseudo-Sall. *in Cic.* 3, 9; Pseudo-Quint. *Decl.* 12, 1. **ad incessendos . . . uterentur**: i.e. in their assault upon leading individuals, they appealed to public opinion.

3. ut est natura invidiae: the thought is a commonplace both in Greek and Latin. Cp. e.g. Eur. *Beller.* fragm. 294, *εἰς τἀπίσημα δ' ὁ φθόνος πηδᾶν φιλεῖ*; Lucret. V. 1125 ff.; Liv. XLV. 35; Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 369, *summa petit livor;* Sen. Epist. 74, 4; Iuv. X. 56 ff.; Tac. *Hist.* I. 1, *obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur;* II. 20; and Amm. Marcell. XVII. 11, 2, *ut solet amplissima quaeque gloria obiecta esse semper invidiae*, which is illustrated by the cases of Cimon, Scipio, and Pompey.

5. faces admovebant: an exceedingly common metaphor. Cp. e.g. Tac. *Hist.* I. 24, *flagrantibus iam militum animis velut faces addiderat.*

Chapter 40, 6–42. Maternus, in closing the discussion, endeavors to reconcile the opposing parties. He freely admits that the changed condition of oratory was the necessary outcome of certain historical causes, but the consummate eloquence of the Republican period was acquired at the expense of political tranquillity, which Rome now happily enjoys, and inasmuch as both cannot thrive side by side, we should rest content with the good which one's own age offers, and

cease from desiring to restore what is irrevocably past and impossible of resuscitation.

On the lacuna before ch. 40, 6, see *Introd.* p. xxiv.

6. re = ~~re publica~~. So e.g. Cic. *ad fam.* VII. 30, 3. An unmistakable allusion to the words of Secundus. See note ch. 36, 25. **probitate et modestia**: on the collocation, see ch. 29, 16.

8. alumna licentiae quam stulti libertatem vocitant: cp. the remarkable parallelism in Plut. *de aud.* 1, ἀναρχία μὲν γὰρ ἣν ἔνιοι τῶν νέων ἐλευθερίαν ἀπαιδευσίᾳ νομίζουσι. — The alliterative antithesis is exceedingly frequent. In Tac. *Hist.* I. 4; II. 10; *Ann.* XI. 17.

9. incitamentum: of *persons* (for *eloquentia*, as shown by *comes*, is here, as often, personified) only in T., who is, moreover, fond of this comparatively rare word. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* VI. 29, *quae* (sc. *uxor Scauri*) *incitamentum mortis . . . fuit.* — The phrase evidently alludes to Secundus' words, c. 39, 27.

10. sine severitate: *without proper dignity, gravitas.* Cp. ch. 39, 5 f. **contumax . . . adrogans**: often combined. In T. e.g. *Ann.* V. 3. — With the thought, cp. Cic. *Brut.* 12, 45, *Pacis est comes otiique socia et iam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia*; and similarly *de orat.* I. 4, 14; 8, 30; II. 8, 33; *Orat.* 41, 142. These passages only apparently contradict the statement here made, for Cicero throughout has reference to foreign wars. Tacitus, on the other hand, is speaking only of internal dissensions as the essential conditions for the development of orators, and in this Cicero is substantially of the same opinion, as may be seen from *de inv.* I. 1, 1; *de orat.* I. 9, 38.

12. oratorem Lacedaemonium: this was often remarked by the ancients. Cp. e.g. Thucyd. IV. 88; Cic. *Brut.* 13, 50; Vell. Pat. I. 18, 2; Quint. II. 16, 4. **accepimus**: sc. *fuisse.* See note ch. 12, 19.

13. disciplina . . . leges: the laws of Sparta and Crete possessed many common features, and hence they are often associated, e.g. Plat. *Prot.* 342 a; Polyb. VI. 45 ff.; and Tac. *Ann.* III. 26. **severissima . . . severissimae**: such repetitions are characteristic of Tacitean style. Cp. e.g. ch. 41, 8. 25; *Germ.* 19 (*boni . . . bonae*), *ibid.* (*unum . . . unam*); *Hist.* I. 40, IV. 5 (*magnus*); I. 78, *Ann.* V. 4 (*novus*); *Hist.* IV. 57 (*divus*); *Ann.* VI. 28 (*par*).

14. traduntur: i.e. *severissima* (*ae*) *fuisse.* On the nom. with inf., see note ch. 38, 25; on the position of the predicate, cp. note ch. 6, 28.

16. Rhodii quidam: the most noted were Apollonius *ὁ μαλακός* and Molon, both natives of Alabanda. The latter was Cicero's teacher in Rome, and later in Rhodes (78 B.C.).

18. omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes: *everybody, so to speak, could do everything.* The *ut sic dixerim* (on which see note ch. 34, 23) apologizes for what might seem an exaggerated expression. Such qualifications are highly characteristic of T. See note ch. 2, 19; *Germ.* 2, 4. With the collocation, cp. Verg. Ecl. VIII. 64, *non omnia possumus omnes.* — Observe the anaphora in this paragraph.

19. donec erravit: i.e. as long as the Roman state, like a ship without a rudder, was being tossed about upon a sea of troubles. Cp. ch. 10, 17. Wendell Phillips, *Toussaint L'Ouverture, He no sooner found himself at the helm of state, when the ship steadied.* — *donec* = *quamdiu*, as ch. 8, 9.

20. dissensionibus et discordiis: also grouped in Tac. *Agr.* 32, and so similarly *discordiae* and *seditiones* in *Hist.* I. 84; II. 23, 86; *Ann.* VI. 3, 16. **se . . . confecit**: *spent itself, sapped its strength.* In this figurative sense, the expression is very rarely met with. E.g. Liv. *Praef.* 3, *populi vires se ipsae conficiunt.* **nulla . . . modus**: observe the careful libration of clauses (adj. + genet. or an equivalent prepositional phrase + substantive). See note ch. 38, 28.

21. nulla . . . concordia: alluding to ch. 36, 5.

22. moderatio: *self-restraint on the part of orators in the law-courts.* Cp. ch. 38, 14. **reverentia**: *respect for authority.* Cp. ch. 40, 31 f.

23. nullus . . . modus: i.e. the judges placed no restrictions upon the effusiveness of orators. Cp. ch. 19 ext.; 39, 12. **tulit sine dubio,** etc.: 'no doubt, as Secundus has said (ch. 37, 19 ff., 3), such turbulent times produce a sturdier eloquence, but.' — *Sine dubio* generally points back to a thought already expressed or implied, and hence is usually, in T. invariably, followed by an adversative particle, introducing a modification or qualification. On the supposition, however, that Maternus is the speaker in ch. 36 ff., he would be refuting his own statement.

24. indomitus ager . . . laetiores: cp. the similar thought in Eur. *Hecuba* 588, *εἰ γῆ μὲν κακὴ | τυχοῦσα καιροῦ θεόθεν εὖ στάχυν φέρει.* — *laetus* is frequently applied to plants, not only by the poets, such as Lucretius and Vergil, but also by the common people. Cp. Cic. *de orat.* III. 38, 155, *laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt.*

25. nec tanti . . . et leges: i.e. the Roman people would gladly

have dispensed with the eloquence of the Gracchi, seeing that it was productive only of pernicious laws. This disparaging criticism of the Gracchi is in perfect accord with a later utterance of T. in *Ann.* III. 27, where they are designated as *turbatores plebis.* — For the very emphatic position of *et leges* (*et* = *etiam*, as in ch. 21, 11. 12, and very frequently in the later works of T.), cp. *Agr.* 4, *ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges.*

26. nec bene famam . . . pensavit: Cicero dearly bought his oratorical reputation by the wretched death he suffered in consequence. This seems to have been a rhetorical commonplace. Cp. Sen. *de remed. fort.* 12, 4, *si muti fuissent, Cicero et Demosthenes et diutius vixissent et lenius obiissent;* Juvenal X. 118 ff., *eloquio sed uterque perit orator . . . nec umquam Sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli;* Pseudo-Quint. *Declam.* 268. Secundus had admitted (ch. 39, 19 ff.) that the superior eloquence of the ancients was but a poor compensation for the anarchical conditions which made its growth possible. Very true, rejoins Maternus, but it should also be added that the orators themselves did not enjoy the fruits of their reputation, for they paid for it with their lives. — Maternus had hitherto (ch. 40) examined the arguments of Secundus drawn from the political conditions of the Republic (ch. 36–37 ext.). Beginning with ch. 38, the latter passed on to a discussion of the constitution of the law-courts; accordingly Maternus, following the same order in his reply, proceeds to consider this subject. This evident design is, of course, again incompatible with the supposition that Maternus is the speaker from ch. 36 to the end.

Chapter 41. **28. sic quoque**, etc.: in reference to Secundus' statements in ch. 36, 25 f.; 38, 19 f. What little of forensic activity still remains rather proves that we have not yet reached the desirable ideal, although a more regulated order of things prevails.

29. emendatae . . . compositae: so combined in Sen. *Epist.* 4, 1.

Page 40. **3. quod**: i.e. *id municipium, quod.* A frequent elliptical use of the relative pronoun in T. So e.g. *Germ.* 5, *vasa . . . quam quae* (= *ea vasa, quae*); *Hist.* IV. 50, *praeda nisi quam . . . vendiderant;* 46, *preces . . . quibus; Ann.* IV. 56, *bella, sed quae;* XIII. 39, *castella . . . quod* (= *id castellum, quod*).

4. spoliatam vexatamque: cp. Cic. *in Verr.* I. 3, 32, 75, *civitas*

. . . *spoliata ac vexata*, and so repeatedly in this speech. — The entire passage is clearly intended to offset the glowing description of Secundus in ch. 39, 17 ff.

5. **melius fuisset**: with expressions like *melius*, *satis*, *longum*, with *posse* and *debere*, the Latin idiom usually has the indicative, but exceptions, as here, are quite common, e.g. *Rhet. ad Her.* IV. 26, 36, *satius esset;* Cic. *de sen.* 23, 82, *melius fuisset;* Sen. *de ben.* V. 25, 3; Tac. *Hist.* III. 40, *potuisset.* **queri**: *to have cause for complaint.* So Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 9, *ploravere*, and note ch. 15, 27. — With the sentiment, cp. ch. 37, 1 f.

6. **quod si inveniretur**, etc.: this idea of a political Utopia may have been suggested by Cic. *Horten. fragm.* 42, Or., *Si nobis . . . in beatorum insulis . . . degere licet, quid opus esset eloquentia cum iudicia nulla fierent, nec iustitia cum esset nihil quod adpeteretur* (= *in qua nemo peccaret*). Cp. also note ch. 12, 10 ff. — *Aliquis* after *si* for the more usual *quis*, occurs quite frequently in T.; e.g. ch. 9, 24; 10, 5; 17, 6; 41, 22; *Hist.* I. 32; II. 32.

7. **inter innocentes** is redundant after *in qua nemo peccaret*, but it was inserted for the sake of the libration with *inter sanos.* **inter sanos medicus**: this appears to have been a commonplace. Cp. e.g. Plat. *Rep.* I. 332 e, μὴ κάμνουσι . . . ἰατρὸς ἄχρηστος; Matthew 9, 12, οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσι οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ; Ovid, *Epist. Ex. Pont.* III. 4, 7, *firma valent per se, nullumque Machaona quaerunt.*

8. **enim**: with the usual ellipsis. 'Of course, no such communities exist, and therefore lawyers are a necessary evil, but,' etc. **minimum . . . minimumque**: on the repetition here and below, l. 26, see note ch. 40, 13. — The *que* is epexegetic. See note ch. 22, 3. **medentis** = *medicus.* Substantived participles are comparatively rare in the singular. Cp. Ov. *Her.* XXI. 14, *medentis.* Elsewhere only the plural seems to occur of this noun, so in Tac. *Hist.* V. 6; *Ann.* XI. 6. — See also below, l. 12, *regentis;* 19, *cognoscentis.*

10. **saluberrimis**: here used instead of *sanus*, *validus.* So e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 17, *salubri corpore.* In T. again, *Hist.* V. 6; *Ann.* II. 33. Cp. the frequent confusion in English between *healthy* and *wholesome.*

11. **minor . . . gloria**: so similarly Plin. *Epist.* V. 13, 10, *minor laus et obscurior gloria.*

12. **in obsequium regentis paratos**: the same phrase occurs in Suet. *Galb.* 19. — With *in*, ch. 31, 32, *Hist.* IV. 32; with *ad*, *Ann.* III. 65, V. 5; but elsewhere in T. the verb takes the dative. — *regentis*, objective genitive = *erga regem.* So *Germ.* 43, *erga reges obsequium.*

13. quid = *cur*. So quite commonly in direct questions, e.g. *Hist.* II. 75; III. 2. See note ch. 17, 20. Under such circumstances, there will be no need for these privileges and opportunities, the absence of which Secundus had deplored (ch. 39, 17 ff.; 40, 31 ff.). Maternus is here in virtual agreement with Aper (ch. 19), though his objections to long speeches are based on wholly different grounds.

14. optimi: *οἱ καλοὶ κἀγαθοί* as opposed to *multi*, *οἱ πολλοί*. **multis contionibus**: cp. ch. 36, 2; 40, 31.

15. imperiti: as was the case among the Athenians. See ch. 40, 18. The epithet is repeatedly applied to the *plebs* by T., e.g. ch. 7, 17; 19, 28; *Hist.* I. 35; *Ann.* II. 77. — With the thought, cp. Quint. II. 17, 28, *imperiti enim iudicant . . . nam si mihi sapientes iudices dentur, sapientium contiones . . . perquam sit exiguus eloquentiae locus.* **multi** = *οἱ πολλοί*. So *Catull.* 86, 1, *Quintia formosa est multis.*

16. sapientissimus et unus: cp. ch. 36, 27 f. The reference is not necessarily to Vespasian. Maternus, like T. in his later works, cp. e.g. *Ann.* I. 9, IV. 33, is a loyal adherent of the monarchy, but on grounds of expediency rather than of conviction. Cp. *Introduction*, p. xix. **voluntariis accusatoribus**, etc.: this is said in answer to Secundus, ch. 40, 31. — *voluntariis*, because during the Empire the initiative usually rested with the senate, or was taken at the suggestion of the *princeps*.

18. invidiosis: is here used, in an objective sense, of that which brings odium upon the speaker. So Tac. *Hist.* I. 33, *id Othoni invidiosius et ipsis honestum.*

19. cognoscentis = *iudicis*, a legal term. Cp. ch. 19, 13; *Hist.* IV. 42. **obviam . . . eat**: *comes to the aid of the accused in his peril.* The phrase is used in a good sense only by T. So again, *Hist.* IV. 46; *Ann.* IV. 6. 64; XIII. 5.

20. opus est = *utile est, expedit.* In this sense the phrase is rare, e.g. Cic. *de off.* III. 11, 49; *de amic.* 14, 51; Hor. *Sat.* I. 9, 27; II. 6, 116. — With the thought, cp. ch. 36, 25 f.

21. prioribus saeculis: i.e. the Republic. See ch. 1, 1, and note ch. 19, 27.

22. deus aliquis, etc.: for a similar suggestion, cp. Hor. *Sat.* I. 1, 15 ff., *si quis deus 'En ego' dicat 'Iam faciam quod voltis: eris tu, qui modo miles, mercator; tu consultus modo, rusticus.'* **vestras**: modifies both nouns, as shown by its position.

24. modus et temperamentum: cp. ch. 38, 17; 39, 10 f. — On the singular predicate, cp. note ch. 5, 14.

26. magnam . . . magnam: see note ch. 40, 13. **bono saeculi sui**, etc.: with the thought, cp. Tac. *Hist.* I. 3, *non tamen adeo sterile saeculum* (sc. *nostrum*) *ut non et bona exempla prodiderit*, and *Ann.* III. 55 (cited ch. 15, 23).

Chapter 42. **28. quibus contradicerem**: this is to serve as an incentive to the reader to reflect upon the ideas and problems suggested in the previous discussion.

30. dies . . . exactus, etc.: a conventional close in many dialogues, for nothing had been said about the time of day, when the debate was supposed to have begun. Cp. Lucian, *Anacharsis*, τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον ἀπίωμεν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἑσπέρα γὰρ ἤδη; Cic. *de nat. deor.* III. ext., *sed quoniam advesperascit, dabis nobis diem aliquem ut contra ista dicamus . . . haec cum essent dicta . . . discessimus; Acad. Prior.* 48, 148; Min. Fel. *Octav.* 40, 2, *de quibus crastino quod iam sol occasui declivis est, ut de toto congruentes promptius requiremus.*

31. si qua obscura: cp. Cic. *de orat.* I. 41, 186, *dum breviter voluerim dicere, dictum a me esse obscurior, sed experiar et dicam, si potero, planius.*

32. conferemus: used absolutely as in Plaut. *Rud.* II. 3, 8 (vs. 337); Cael. ap. Cic. *ad fam.* VIII. 15, 2; Plin. *Epist.* IV. 10, 2, probably, therefore, colloquial usage.

Page 41. **1. ego . . . Messalla . . . criminabimur**: a plural predicate with two singular subjects in adversative clauses is a striking feature of Tacitean style, but of rare occurrence in other writers. Cp. e.g. *Hist.* II. 24, *curam peditum Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere; Ann.* III. 14, *quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere;* XI. 41, *Britannicus in praetexta, Nero triumphali veste travecti sunt.* So occasionally in English, e.g. Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 10: *As Droysen hesitatingly, Niese categorically, affirm.* — On the ellipsis of *sed*, cp. note ch. 6, 21.

4. cum adrisissent, discessimus: the youthful author had been a passive listener throughout, and this fact is again impressed upon the reader by the use of *adrisissent* for *adrisissemus*. *Discessimus*, on the other hand, is a dramatic device intended to mark the formal close of the debate, just as *intravimus* (ch. 3, 20) had indicated its formal beginning. — For similar closing remarks, cp. also Plato, *Prot.*, περὶ τούτων δὲ εἰσαῦθις, ὅταν βούλῃ, διέξιμεν . . . ταῦτ' εἰπόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἀπῆμεν; Cic. *de fin.* IV. extr., *quae cum essent dicta, discessimus.*

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

A detailed discussion of the MSS., their interdependence, and respective authenticity is found in my Prolegomena, pp. cxx–cxxxviii. I have seen no reason to abandon or modify any of the conclusions there reached, for the renewed treatment of the subject by Avé-Lallement, T., *Ueber das Verhältniss und den Werth der Handschriften zu Tacitus' Dialogus*, Program, Pyritz, 1895, pp. 20, has not yielded results which I am able to accept.

The following adnotatio enumerates the deviations of the present text from my previous recension. The accepted reading *follows* the bracket, and the references to *crit. notes* pertain to the discussions in the larger edition.

Chapter **2**, line 17. **maiorem quam**] *maiorem* — MSS.

4, 22. **colam solam**] *colam* — MSS.

5, 4. I should now prefer to read *invenimus*, because, as John, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1895, p. 1048, well remarks, it was Maternus, not Aper, who had suggested the selection of an umpire.

5, 22. **quae est praesidium**] *praesidium* — MSS.

6, 17. **quod illud**] *quod.* See Leo, *Goetting. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1898, No. 3, p. 184. *quod id* was written by an error for *q̃d* (= *quod*), which in turn was corrected to *quod illud* (in EV).

6, 29. **quamquam quae diu seruntur atque elaborantur, grata**] *quamquam quae* ⟨*alia*⟩ *s. a. e. g. diu* seems not to go well with the present *seruntur*, and would more probably belong to *elaborantur.* By retaining *quae* and *grata* of the original conjecture (see *editio maior*, p. 102), and omitting *alia* with two MSS. (CD), we secure an easy solution of this critical crux, and one in exact keeping with the context.

7, 7. **principem ipsos illos**] *p. ipsum illos* — Spengel. *Ipsos*, due to an assimilation of the final syllable with *illos*, admits of no sat-

isfactory explanation. *Ipsum* ('the emperor') secures the necessary climax. See note *ad loc.*

7, 10. **in alvo**] *in animo* — Freinsheim.

10, 18. **mox adeptus**] *adepturus* — MSS.

10, 26. **obnoxium sit offendere**] *obnoxium sit offensae* — Acidalius, for as *Leo*, l.c. p. 187, observes, an adjective with a passive signification cannot be joined with an active infinitive.

10, 5. **privatas causas**] *privatas* — MSS. The following expression in Caes. *B. G.* VI. 13, *controversiis publicis privatisque* causes me to abandon my former suggestion. On the other hand, the inconcinnity pointed out in crit. note, p. 139, and the passage from Cicero there cited, may still be urged in favor of my conjecture.

13, 21. **fatalis et meus**] *fatalis meus* — Nipperdey. See note *ad loc.*

16, 2. **huic utrique**] *utrique* — MSS.

16, 13. **vester**] ⟨*vester*⟩ — Halm. The pronoun, as Helmreich notes, is nothing but a correction of *videtur* (in AD) which, in turn, was a gloss to *incipit*, the peculiar meaning of which was unintelligible to the writer of the archetypon.

17, 32. *fovet. centum.* Perhaps we ought to read: *fovet. et centum.*

18, 22. **miratus.**] The objections urged in crit. note, p. 196 f., against the MSS. reading *imitatus* have, so far as I can see, not been removed by my critics.

19, 16. **interrogas**] *interroges* — all MSS. with exception of CD. 'If one should happen to ask me.'

19, 21. **Severum . . . † quem reum faciunt**] *Severum . . . faciunt. quem reum* was corrupted out of *Severum*, which Puteanus restored. No satisfactory emendation for this admittedly corrupt passage has, as yet, been suggested.

20, 18. **omnia fere**] *fere* — MSS. See note *ad loc.*

20, 24. **vitiatus**] *invitatus* — MSS. I still think that *vitiatus* may have been written by Tacitus, but inasmuch as *invitatus* is occasionally, though very rarely, used *in malam partem*, the traditional text may, after all, represent the original.

21, 9. **Decio**] *Decitio.* I am now more than ever convinced that this represents the true reading. See crit. note, p. 234.

25, 30. **prae se ferunt**] *praeferunt.* See Index *nominum et rerum*, p. 443.

30, 23. **ullius artis ingenuae**] *ullius ingenuae artis* — CDEV.

The reading of AB violates the '*collocatio verborum*' of Tacitus, who does not allow two attributes to be separated by the word which they modify.

31, 19. **et promptius**] *promptius* — MSS.

31, 10. **⟨ad dicendum⟩ materia**] *ad dicendum materia* — MSS.

32, 12. *magnae quidem . . . quoniam ⟨quidem⟩ ego.* I am inclined to regard this transference of *quidem* advocated in crit. note, p. 313, as certain.

35, 2. *plus.* As three elements are enumerated, the Latin idiom would seem to call for *plurimum.*

36, 22. **calescit**] *clarescit.* I now feel that the easy change formerly suggested is not absolutely necessary.

36, 18. **qui quin**] *quin* — MSS.

37, 27. **aut.**] Well-authenticated instances of a plural verb with *aut* are so extremely rare (see note *ad loc.*) that I feel convinced that *et* is the only admissible reading. The confusion between '*et*' and '*aut*' is notoriously common.

37, 9. **extollant**] *mirentur* — John, l.c.

38, 11. † **extiterint**] *existit*, which seems preferable here to *extitit* (Bennett).

40, 4. † **ut histriones**] ⟨*et histriones*⟩. — This reading of all the MSS. is clearly the gloss of some reader who did not know that the ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν was never permitted in Rome. This objection applies to the reading *ut histriones* as well. See crit. note, p. 367.

41, 22. **ac ⟨vestra⟩ tempora**] *vitas vestras ac tempora* — Bekker.

The following readings in the text of the *editio maior* were due to errors:

21, 17. **Atti**] *Arri.*

21, 32. **illae**] *reliquae.*

26, 28. **frequens, sicut † his . . . clam . . . et**] *frequens ⟨sicut his⟩ exclamatio.* In the deletion of *sicut his* I follow L. Duvau, *Rev. de phil.* XXI. (1897) p. 129.

26, 15. **et in publicum**] *in publicum.*

30, 8. . . . **referam**] . . . *statim referam.*

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